ETHNICALLY MIXED INDIVIDUALS: CULTURAL HOMELESSNESS OR MULTICULTURAL INTEGRATION?

Veronica Navarrete-Vivero, B. S. CPR

Thesis Prepared for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

May 1999

APPROVED:

Sharon Rae Jenkins, Major Professor
Bert Hayslip, Committee Member
Vincent Ramos, Committee Member
Ernest Harrell, Chair of the Department of Psychology
C. Neal Tate, Dean of the Robert B. Toulouse School of Graduate Studies

Navarrete-Vivero, Veronica, Ethnically mixed individuals: Cultural homelessness or multicultural integration? Master of Science (Psychology), May 1999, 260 pp., 15 tables, 6 illustrations, references, 273 titles.

Studies addressing racial/ethnic identity development have often overlooked the developmental cultural context. The impact of growing up with contradictory cultures has not been well explored. Immersion in multiple cultures may produce mixed patterns of strengths deficits.

This study reviews the literature's currently inconsistent usage of the terms *race*, *ethnicity*, and *culture*; introduces the concept and theoretical framework of *Cultural Homelessness*; relates CH to multicultural integration; and develops two study-specific measures (included) to examine the construct validity of CH.

The sample's (N= 448, 67% women) racial, ethnic, and cultural mixture was coded back three generations using complex coding criteria. Empirical findings supported the CH-specific pattern of cognitive and social strengths with emotional difficulties: social adaptability and cross-cultural competence but also low self-esteem and shame regarding differences.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank all those who made the completion of this project a reality, for their moral, physical, and emotional support. I am particularly grateful to Amy Soule-Butterfield for her countless hours helping me develop the categorization system and codebook, for her comments and suggestions, for her challenging opinions, and mostly for her positive attitude and constant encouragement; she was happy to be rewarded with knowledge. To two very special undergraduates, Shaneka Morris and Diane Wolfe, who helped me with the open ended coding and data entry; without their help, this study would have been delayed. To Dr. Donald Lyons, for his useful geographic references.

Special thanks to my academic advisor, chair of this project, and co-author in several presentations, Dr. Sharon Rae Jenkins, for all her support and assistance in this unusually large study; most of all, for her patience and for not letting me give up. To my family, friends, and all the conference participants who heard or read parts of this theoretical work while it was being developed: I am very grateful. Their comments and useful questions not only made me reshape the theory, reconceptualize the controversial definitions, and refine the measurement instruments, but also gave me courage and strength to keep pushing ahead; they never let me forget that it was worth it!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the United States issues of racial identity development and ethnic group preference have been addressed since the late 1930's (Clark & Clark, 1947; Horowitz, 1939; Goodman, 1946); however, in the past two decades ethnicity has become an increasingly important issue for psychology. An abundance of theory development and research on ethnic issues in the past 10 years has brought up several problems inherent to its rapid growth and diversity.

The most basic difficulty that theorists and researchers have encountered stems from the lack of consensus on definitions of the terms race and ethnicity, and whether these definitions are applicable to all ethnic groups. Discrepancies in defining and differentiating between race, ethnicity, and culture would consequently raise arguments as to whether there is a difference between racial and ethnic identity (EI), and what, if any, would be the difference. This in turn, would affect one's view of whether or not racial and/or ethnic identity is a developmental process, how it is linked to mental health, and what are the mental health implications of developing or not developing an ethnic and/or racial identity.

The present study was developed to redefine the literature's controversial terms *race*, *ethnicity*, and *culture*, indicating the ways in which these terms may differ from each other, using a general systems framework. A second goal was to detect and understand individuals who may not belong to any existing cultural group, due to their

unique combination of familial and socio-cultural experiences. Furthermore, this work emphasizes the importance of culture and cultural context, rather than focusing on racial and/or ethnic constructs. The concept of "Cultural Homelessness" is theoretically construed, operationally defined, and empirically tested, addressing the issues of multicultural identity and the consequences of dealing with contradictory frames of reference and unintegrated cultural experiences. A measurement scale was developed and initially validated to assess the risk factors and multicultural experiences associated with cultural homelessness.

Four major areas of conflict have been detected in the existing literature regarding racial and ethnic issues. These problems have been divided and conceptualized as: (1) disagreements in the definition and usage of the terms race and ethnicity; (2) the different, oftentimes contradictory, approaches taken to build a framework, develop a theory, or propose a model that can explain racial/ethnic identity and its relation to other areas of human development; (3) disagreements about the generalizability of models across ethnic groups, and their applicability to bicultural and multiethnic individuals; and (4) controversies in the significance of ethnic/racial identity development and its relevance for mental health. In addition, there seems to be a general lack of research in some areas of ethnic development, and on several specific minority groups. The first three problems, disagreements on definitions, conflicting approaches to theory building, and generalizability of ethnic identity models, are described in some detail in later sections since they comprise the foundation for this study. A thorough analysis of the controversial impact on mental health is beyond the scope of this study.

Perhaps the initial step needed to bridge the current disagreements in the literature regarding ethnicity is to develop more clear definitions and a better understanding of the terms in question. Development of a common language would enable theorists and researchers to achieve more accurate and effective communication, not only within psychology but also across different fields (i.e., sociology, developmental and social psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, biology, etc.) that seek to uncover and explain the different effects of the same human dimensions; namely, ethnicity and race. As a foundation for the development of common definitions, a description of the two difficulties mentioned above is followed by an overview of the Systems Model of Communication (Ruesch and Bateson, 1951). This framework is used to explain the importance of developing an ethnic identity, and the potential consequences of developmental disruptions for processes that occur at different levels of this model.

Ruesch & Bateson (1951) propose a social systems model which organizes human communication and interactions at four different levels, depending upon the context within which the individual is embedded at any given time. The levels at which these processes or functions can be observed are described as the individual, interpersonal, group, and cultural levels of communication. According to the authors, communication is a dynamic process in which rapid changes occur between levels and functions. The different functions and levels of social communication, as well as their influence and connection to ethnic identity development (EID) will be used to integrate the socio-cultural and psychological components of ethnic identity.

While the systems model of communication views the individual as interacting within the different levels of the larger social structure, current models of identity

development address the issue of how the individual views him/herself. It has been proposed by several theorists that racial/ethnic identity is an important component of the individual's self-concept (Cross, 1971, 1985; Helms, 1989; McCombs, 1985; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987; Simpson & Yinger, 1985; Spencer, 1988; Wright, 1985), especially for ethnic minorities. However, these models seem to focus on particular ethnic groups and there is considerable disagreement as to whether they may generalize to groups of different ethnic background. Since the present study is aimed at studying individuals of multicultural background, a more general framework seems to be appropriate; the Marcia (1981) ego identity status model has been adapted to serve this purpose. The parallels between Marcia's model and ethnic identity development, as well as the theoretical basis for using this model will be explained in detail, after exploring the controversy surrounding current frameworks of ethnic identity.

The last section of this study integrates the previously mentioned models, in an attempt to reconcile some of the inconsistencies found in the literature and to provide a general framework of ethnic identity development for individuals who do not fit in any existing ethnic category; namely, those who are born with a mixed racial and/or ethnic background and raised within different cultures. The current study's basic framework and the theoretical assumptions on which it is built are proposed as a link between existing models of ego identity development (Loevinger, 1976; Marcia, 1981) and ethnic identity (Cross, 1971; Phinney, 1989; Smith, 1989). The integration of these models will be structured within and applied to the basic organization of the systems model of communication (Ruesch & Bateson, 1951). The approach taken draws from different fields of psychology and sociology, in an attempt to develop a more comprehensive

understanding of ethnic identity development and its implications at all levels of social interaction.

Controversial Definitions and Processes

As mentioned above, one of the main difficulties in the literature is the lack of consensus among psychologists and sociologists on the basic definitions and applicability of the terms race, ethnicity, and culture. This section reviews the most commonly used definitions related to race and ethnicity; when possible, a description of the source of controversy is offered. Other concepts associated with ethnic identity and its development are also described and explained. These include ethnic identity as a component of self-concept, sub-components of ethnic identity (ethnic awareness, self-identification, preferences, attitudes, and behaviors), development of ethnic identity, minority status in the development of ethnic identity, and reference group. The meaning of these latter concepts seem to have reached some agreement and acceptance throughout the literature.

Race, Ethnicity, and Culture

Census agencies in the United States and Canada have struggled with the definition of race and racial categories, especially as it relates to individuals' self-classification as members of a particular ethnic or racial group. Ethnic categories and labels have changed over the years, and currently classifications in only 5 basic groups are made: Asian/Pacific Islander, Black, Hispanic, Native American, & non-Hispanic White, further divided into 14 sub-groups (Entwisle & Astone, 1994). The Census categories are problematic, mainly, because of the lack of agreement on what constitutes race and ethnicity. Additionally, it is difficult to ascertain to which group(s) an

individual belongs and what constitutes the basis for determining ethnic or cultural group membership.

Theorists and researchers from various disciplines (i.e., sociology, biology, psychology, anthropology) have been interested in defining and categorizing different ethnic groups. They have attempted to study the social, biological, and psychological aspects that are affected by and/or interact with ethnicity (Porter & Washington, 1993; Vega & Rumbaut, 1991; Waters & Eschbach, 1995). Phinney (1996) states that "Categories are necessary for human discourse ... Similarly, ethnic groups need to be defined and labeled for purposes of discussion" (p. 919).

Sociologists, who have been studying ethnicity longer than psychologists, tend to see more clearly the problems of defining ethnicity in categorical terms, generally agreeing on the inaccuracy and subjectivity of doing so (reviewed in Phinney, 1996). Waters and Eschbach (1995) describe ethnic categories as "social constructions rather than natural entities ..." (p. 421). Entwisle and Astone (1994) suggested taking into account both race and place of origin to determine ethnic categorization; however, variations within an ethnic group are oftentimes greater than between group variations (Jones, 1991; Reid, 1994; Zuckerman, 1990). In general, it seems that the only point of agreement among sociologists and psychologists is on the difficulty of ascertaining which characteristics should be included to determine race membership, and what differentiates this from ethnic membership (Chaplin, 1985). This lack of agreement has precluded the establishment of universally accepted criteria for race and/or ethnic membership.

Several meanings have been ascribed to the terms ethnicity and race, ranging in breadth from the specific and exclusive use of these terms to the more general and

inclusive application (Simon & Schuster, 1983; Webster, 1988). In their most specific sense, there is an overlap between the definitions of ethnicity and race; both are described, according to Chaplin's (1985) Dictionary of Psychology, as "A large subdivision of man characterized by a common ancestry and a number of common characteristics, particularly visible". Webster includes "a common history, language, physical activities, habits, ideas and social values" in his definitions of ethnicity and race. The ambiguity of these definitions, however, has had an impact on psychological research such that it has prompted several psychologists to state the need for either more clear definitions of race or abandoning the term entirely in favor of ethnicity (e.g., Yee, 1983).

Race is often replaced by *Ethnic Group*, since it has acquired so many unscientific connotations (Simon & Schuster, unabridged second edition, 1983). Furthermore, ethnicity means "referring or belonging to a culture" (Chaplin, 1985); most often, ethnicity becomes synonymous with culture. According to Phinney (1996) "the term ethnicity is used to refer to broad groupings of Americans on the basis of both race and culture of origin" (p. 919). However, culture may also be used to represent a set of beliefs, norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors shared by a group of people on the basis of common characteristics other than ethnicity (e.g., gender, age, sexual orientation, social status, religion, occupation.)

When broader meanings and applications of these words are used, definitions associated with race and ethnicity depart from each other. Originally, in their most generic, inclusive sense race was divided according to individual's skin color: Caucasoid (mainly White race), Negroid (Black race), and Mongoloid (Yellow race), assuming

different genetic composition (Johnson, 1990). Ethnicity was used by White Europeans to classify people into three major categories: Christian, Jewish, or Pagan (Simon & Schuster, 1983). From this perspective, race and ethnicity did not have a one-to-one correspondence, and different ethnic groups could belong to the same race (i.e., White Christians and White Jews; Black-Brazilians and Black-Africans; Koreans and Japanese). Race can also be used to denote the human race. In addition, a cultural group could be composed of individuals from various racial/ethnic backgrounds, such as in religious cultures.

In the last couple of decades, difficulties related to racial and ethnic classification have become more meaningful due to an increased interest in studying the effects of race and ethnicity, especially on identity development. Several psychologists and researchers (e.g., Jones, 1991; Wilkinson & King, 1987; Yee, Fairchild, Weizmann, & Wyatt, 1993; Zuckerman, 1990) have expressed their concerns, addressing the issue of ethnic and racial categorization. Phinney (1996) purposefully avoids the term race by using ethnicity to encompass race, indicating that there is wide disagreement on both the meaning and usage of these terms for psychology. According to Phinney, "it is necessary to unpack the packaged variable of ethnicity [and culture]" in order to gain a better understanding of ethnicity and culture. In agreement with Phinney's views several theorists and researchers, including cross-cultural psychologists and anthropologists, emphasize the need to identify the specific components of ethnicity that may account for cultural differences (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Feldman & Rosenthal, 1994; Poortinga, van de Vijver, Joe, & van de Koppel, 1989; Segall, 1984; Whiting, 1976). However, although there is an increasing recognition that ethnicity is a complex multi-dimensional

construct, it continues to be treated as a categorical variable rather than a dimension (Phinney, 1996). "Race [and ethnicity] ... are dimensions, not categories, of human experience" (Goodchilds, 1991, p. 1). These dimensions clearly cluster together in ways that make ethnicity a highly salient and meaningful construct in American society. Yet the boundaries are blurred and flexible, and the implications of ethnicity vary widely across individuals (Phinney, 1996).

An added difficulty appears when race and ethnicity are discussed developmentally and in terms of minority/majority status. Smith (1991), who provides a new framework for reconceptualizing ethnic identity development, argued for changing the term *racial identity development* to *ethnic identity development*, claiming that the latter is more generic in scope. Referring to ethnic as opposed to racial identity development, according to Smith, indicates that race is only one component of identity development and perhaps not the most salient. Examining ethnicity rather than race implies that identity is not limited to the physical characteristics or the oppression aspects of race, and that ethnic group membership may be an equally important factor for developing an identity. Furthermore, Smith's goal is to develop a model that can be used by members of both majority and minority groups; thus, the need to focus on ethnic culture rather than racial features (Smith, 1991). Examples given by Smith in support of her views include questioning the distinctions among Italian-Americans, Irish-Americans, and Jewish-Americans. These individuals are generally considered to be part of the White American race, however, there are important ethnic group membership differences that distinguish them in terms of family structure, gender roles, belief systems, etc. Group membership is partially but not totally determined by race. In addition, Smith

proposes that all individuals are influenced by their minority/majority status; this is incorporated into the development of ethnic identity. However, people are affected differently, for different reasons, depending on the status they hold.

Other definitions and ideas derived from the words ethnicity and race and used to discuss the concept of ethnic identity and its development have also provoked disagreement, but less so. These terms, adapted from various fields of psychology (social, developmental, and cross-cultural), sociology, and biology, will be reviewed next.

Other Concepts Related to Race & Ethnicity

Ethnic Identity as a component of self-concept. Most authors equate ethnic identity with the view of oneself from a group perspective, which is derived from examining one's race and ethnicity. Ethnic identity definition includes the individual's self-concept that derives from his or her social group(s) membership, as well as the emotional value and significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1981). At the individual level, Rotheram & Phinney (1987) have described ethnic identity as "one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership" (p. 13). The individual's collective identity is distinguished from the personal identity and from the exploration process that characterizes the search for a personal identity (Brookins, 1996; Brookins, Anyabwile, & Barnes-Nacoste, 1997; Cross, 1991). Erikson (1950) described ethnic identity as an individual as much as a communal process. The final stage of human development, according to Erikson, includes the integration of personal and cultural identity, by coming to terms with the influence that culture and the cultural context has had in the individual's

life. At a communal level, ethnic identity is the group members' feelings about those values, symbols, and common histories and cultures that identify them as a distinct ethnic group (Smith, 1991). Ethnic identity or one's view of self from a group perspective has also been defined by Brookins (1996) as "a collective identity based on the commonalities of a group of people due to the largely stable characteristics of ethnicity/race".

On the other hand, as derived from the developmental and social psychology literature (Gecas & Mortimer, 1987; Harter, 1983, 1986; Rosenberg, 1986), self-concept refers to "a multidimensional construct through which individuals define themselves and is largely based on the reflected appraisals received from significant others" (in Brookins, 1996). Included in the self-concept are the structure (identity) and affective (self-evaluation) dimensions. The most meaningful aspects of an individual's identity and the self-evaluation of that identity are in the domains which the individual considers to be most important for him or her (Brookins, 1996; Harter, 1990). As an aspect of identity, ethnic identity is considered to be of particular importance during certain critical developmental periods, especially when the socialization aspects of development are most relevant (ages 4-7 and 11-14).

Brookins' (1994, 1996) idea of a healthy and functional ethnic identity for ethnic minorities is consistent with Nobles' (1973) and Semaj's (1981) definition of an *extended self-identity*, and with Cross' (1985) concept of *reference group orientation*. In agreement with Cross' orientation, Smith (1991) discusses and links her framework of ethnic identity development with another conceptual tool, that of *ethnic reference group*. All of these terms are described in detail later in this section.

Ethnic identity composition. Several elements that comprise ethnic identity have been identified, including *ethnic self-identification, ethnic awareness, ethnic preferences, ethnic attitudes,* and *ethnic behaviors* (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). *Ethnic awareness* refers to the knowledge acquired, through others or through experience, about one's own group as well as others; it can include factual and stereotypical information (Brookins, 1996). *Ethnic self-identity*, according to Rotheram & Phinney (1987), refers to "the accurate and consistent use of an ethnic label, based on the perception and conception of themselves as belonging to an ethnic group" (p. 17). *Ethnic attitudes* reflect the affective component toward one's own group as well as others. The negative or positive ethnic attitudes are determined by the individual's experiential context within which the ethnic knowledge is acquired (Hughes & Demo, 1989). *Ethnic preferences* result from an interaction between the cognitive components of ethnic awareness and self-identification, and the affective component of ethnic attitudes. *Ethnic behaviors* are the culturally derived behavioral patterns that are endorsed and practiced by the group with which the individual has identified ethnically; these include acceptable social norms and roles, patterns of communication and interactions, food and dress preferences, celebration of holidays, etc. (Brookins, 1996).

Identifying and describing the different components of ethnic identity and its relationship to self-identity are important steps toward developing a consistent definition of ethnicity. However, in order to provide a solid framework within which ethnic identity can be construed, other concepts related to group membership still need to be defined and explained. Three of these concepts, *Reference Group, Ethnic Group,* and *Ethnic Reference Group*, refer to the ideas of collective identity and ethnic group membership;

these are also linked to the ideas of ethnic enclave (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996b) and cultural home (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999).

Ethnic group membership. According to Shibutani (1955), the concept of reference group has been used in three different ways that, although related, should not be used together. Reference group refers to (1) groups which serve as comparison points, (2) groups into which the individual aspires to become a member, and (3) groups whose perspectives are assumed by the individual. Despite ambiguities in the usage of this term, a concept first used by Hyman (1942), a common use throughout the sociology literature is "that group which serves as a point of reference in making comparisons or contrasts, especially in forming judgments about one's self" (Shibutani, 1955; p. 562). In its second usage, reference group defines "that group in which the [individual] aspires to gain or maintain acceptance [...]; that group in which one desires to participate." (Shibutani, 1955; p. 563). The third use of this concept points to a group which serves as the individual's frame of reference to structure his or her perceptions, according to the group's norms (Sherif, 1953; in Shibutani, 1955). This is also what Merton and Kitt (1950) have called "social frame of reference". The individual develops an understanding of the the world from the group's standpoint, through repeated exposure to and experience of the reference group's perspectives. Used in this way, the individual may not necessarily wish for acceptance as a member of the group. Someone may despise the group, due to being rejected by it, and still see the world according to the reference group's perspective. The reference group's perspectives or standpoints shape the individual's goals and regulate his or her behaviors, regardless of membership status or self- identification (Shibutani, 1955; Shibutani & Kwan, 1965).

Based on this concept, an ethnic reference group may be defined as "a reference group called upon by people who share a common history and culture, who may be identifiable because they share similar physical features and values and who, through the process of interacting with each other and establishing boundaries with each other, identify themselves as members of that group." (Smith, 1991; p. 181). Whether built on ethnicity or not, a reference group is a group to which an individual commits his or her identity. This includes those "in which a person wants to be counted as a member as well as those whose opinions make a difference for him or her and whose standards and goals are the ones prized" (Smith, 1991, p. 182).

Thus, ethnic reference group, a term borrowed from social psychology, is used to refer to the extent to which an individual has a psychological and emotional connection to a group, based on common cultural values (Sherif, 1964; Cross, 1985); "through shared historical circumstances, ethnicity serves as a common referent for a sense of peoplehood" (Smith, 1991). There is significant variability in the degree to which individuals identify with the ethnic reference group, influenced greatly by the individual's position in the social structure (i.e., age, gender, status, etc.), his or her interactions with different individuals and groups, and the attraction of other groups to him/her (Cross, 1985; Smith, 1989). The individual's willingness to behave according to the desired group's norms, standards, and goals also account for variations in the reference group identification process (Smith, 1989).

Breton and Pinard (1960) have maintained that a person does not belong to an ethnic group by choice; rather, he or she must be born into the group and becomes related to it through emotional and symbolic ties. However, according to Smith (1991), "birth

and a long period of socialization into an ethnic identity heritage provide a person only with minimum membership credentials into a given ethnic identity and into a given ethnic reference group" (p. 182). The process of ethnic identification is determined by the degree to which the individual's ethnic membership group becomes the salient referent group, measured by the extent to which the individual uses the signs, symbols, and language of the culture associated with the ethnic group. Ethnic self-identification and preferences are manifested in feelings of group pride (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990) and loyalty (De Vos, 1975). Identifying with one's ethnic membership group may range from little or none to high identification, depending on the individual's degree of acculturation or assimilation into the dominant society (Cross, 1985; Smith, 1989).

The concept of ethnic reference group can be linked to De Vos' (1975) idea that people need to attain a sense of survival through social belonging, which can be achieved by self-identifying with, preferring, and behaving according to one's own ethnic group. For some ethnic minorities, an ethnic group or enclave (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996b) may provide positive ethnic identity reinforcement for the individual, especially during childhood; also a sense of safety within the social structure, and knowing one's place within this structure. As an extension of Landrine and Klonoff's concept of ethnic enclave and De Vos' idea of social belonging, a *cultural home* (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999) provides the individual with stable and consistent rules, norms, beliefs, and values which are based on a common history and culture, in addition to providing positive reinforcement and safety. A cultural home also enables the individual to find social meaning, a sense of cultural continuity, and a source of primary social support and group

participation; all of which increases the emotional attachment to one's ethnic group. All of these concepts are consistent with Cross' (1991) *reference group orientation*.

Cross (1991) describes the importance for African Americans of having a healthy reference group orientation, indicating that the internalized ethnic identity performs three dynamic functions:

"(1) to defend and protect the person from psychological insults that stem from having to live in a racist society;

(2) to provide a sense of belonging and social anchorage; and

(3) to provide a foundation or point of departure for carrying out transactions with people, cultures, and situations beyond the world of Blackness." (p. 210)

Although Cross is referring to African Americans, his description could be easily extended to other ethnic groups, especially those who have to deal with and live within a dominant culture in a power minority status. The effects of minority status on ethnic identity development are discussed in detail below.

Ethnic group preference. Two other concepts that deserve attention and clarification are the preference for one's ethnic group and the rejection of ethnic groups which are different from one's own. Sociologists have used the terms *in-group* and *out-group* to denote those groups to which the individual belongs or does not belong, respectively. The individual's preference for his or her own ethnic group's beliefs, values, and behaviors is called *ethnic in-group* or *own group preference*. Rejecting other ethnic groups solely on the basis of being the out-group is called *ethnocentrism*. It seems to be important to distinguish between *own group preference* and *ethnocentrism*, since they are based on different assumptions and each carry distinct implications.

Own ethnic-group preference implies that an individual chooses to self-identify with and adopt the attitudes, values, and customs of a group on the basis of a common ethnicity shared by the ethnic group. Preference for one's own ethnic group indicates neither a rejection of nor negative attitudes toward other ethnic groups; it does not imply that a negative value has been attached to these other groups. On the other hand, *ethnocentrism* has been defined by LeVine and Campbell (1972) as an exaggerated preference for one's own ethnic group and a consequent dislike of other ethnic groups. Ethnocentrism has been contrasted to *allocentrism* which refers to the individual's ability to take a multiplicity of ethnic perspectives, without necessarily attaching a negative or positive value judgment to these perspectives (Smith, 1991).

Between or Within two Cultures

Some theoretical concepts have been developed to describe the reality of minority individuals who belong to more than one race and/or ethnicity (i.e., biracial; biethnic), and/or those who have to deal with more than one culture in their everyday life (i.e., bicultural), such as African-Americans in a predominantly White environment. Two such terms, *negromachy* (Thomas & Thomas, 1971) and *marginality* (Gibbs, 1987; Stonequist, 1937), have been used to describe the consequences of being raised within two different cultures, usually with conflicting and sometimes with contradictory frames of reference. In addition, *acculturation* (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992; LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton, 1993) has been generally used to explain the process through which some minority individuals experience adaptation to the majority's culture.

Negromachy. The Thomas and Thomas (1971) model of Psychological Nigrescence (described under the Ethnic Models section) begins with an introduction to

the concept of *negromachy*. According to the authors' initial analysis conducted in 1970, this concept is linked to the alienation suffered by African-Americans and the "twoness" with which they are confronted. "Twoness" refers to the desire of the African-American population to feel a part of the White society, while being made to feel apart from it (through discrimination, oppression, lack of opportunities; DuBois, 1903, 1989).

Based on this African-American reality, Thomas and Thomas (1971) defined Negromachy as "that which is ruled by confusion of self-worth and shows dependency upon White society for definition of self" (p. 104). Inherent in this concept of approval is the need to be accepted as something other than what the individual is. Gratification, according to the definition of negromachy, is based upon denial of self and a rejection of the individual's own ethnic group goals and activities.

Thomas and Thomas (1971) explain that "The driving force behind this need [for gratification] requires Afro-Americans to seek approval from Whites in all activities, to use White expectations as the yardstick for determining what is good, desirable, or necessary. Any indication of rejection by or hostility from Whites results in these Afro-Americans changing their pattern of actions, even when the individual hurts himself and others of his people ... They prefer to have goal directed actions that fit into adaptive patterns, which will not be criticized by Whites" (p. 104). The Afro-American suffering from negromachy exhibits attributes of compliance, subservience, repressed rage, and an oversensitivity to racial issues. Furthermore, negromachy leads to the "White is right" attitude, which maintains, protects, and enhances lifestyles that are based on denial of self, and in some cases, denial of reality (Thomas & Thomas, 1971). Although negromachy is used to explain the reality of African-American individuals, this concept

can be extended to describe the feelings of most cultural minorities in the United States who have experienced rejection, exploitation, and/or discrimination. This concept becomes relevant when studied within the social structure context and linked to the importance of developing an ethnic identity for minority individuals.

Marginality. The second concept of living within or dealing with two cultures is that of *marginality* (Gibbs, 1987; Stonequist, 1937), which refers to the identity development of racially mixed people. Stonequist states that marginal (biracial) individuals are described as "partially belonging to two worlds, but not wholly belonging to either". Models addressing marginality (Stonequist, 1937) are considered to be deficit models, since they assume a problematic and maladjusted ethnic identity development.

Acculturation. Initially, this term was only used to describe changes in the cultural patterns of individuals who emigrated from their native country such as immigrants, sojourners, refugees, etc. Originally, acculturation was defined as the changes observed in native cultural behaviors, resulting from exposure to a different culture. These changes could be observed in minority individuals who are exposed to a new culture, as well as individuals from the dominant society who are repeatedly exposed to a minority group's culture (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, 1936). However, this definition excluded native ethnic minority groups (since they are not immigrants) who do not share the same cultural values as those of the dominant society (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994). Later research has redefined acculturation as a dynamic process in which individuals either acquire the customs and traditions of another society or retain their native customs when continuously exposed to an alternate culture (Cui 1989; Graves, 1967; Mendoza, 1984). This includes the extent to and process through which an ethnic

minority individual participates in either the dominant culture, his or her own culture, or both (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994).

During the acculturation process, several cultural and psychological changes can be observed in the ethnic minority individual (reviewed in Comas-Diaz & Greene, 1994). Some authors have described and empirically studied certain patterns of acculturation that minority individuals seem to follow (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Mendoza & Martinez, 1981; Triandis et al., 1986). The acculturation process and the degree to which the individual acculturates can be viewed as a continuum, from traditional (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994) to assimilated (Berry et al., 1992). Outcomes of this process may include marginality or biculturalism.

In general, ethnic minorities who share the cultural values, assumptions, beliefs, role practices, and social norms of the dominant society are considered to be acculturated. The level of acculturation varies, depending on the extent to which the dominant cultural values and practices are incorporated into the individual's life. Ethnic minority individuals who remain immersed in their own cultural values and practices, and do not incorporate any of the majority's culture are labelled as traditional. Individuals who participate in and share with both their own ethnic group(s) and the dominant culture are considered to be bicultural.

Throughout the literature the levels of acculturation have been referred to with different labels, however, most authors recognize the same four general patterns of acculturation (Berry et al., 1992; Comas-Diaz & Greene, 1994; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Landrine & Klonoff, 1994; Mendoza & Martinez, 1981; Triandis et al., 1986; Winkelman, 1994). Some of these terms, such as separation, assimilation, integration,

and marginality are briefly reviewed, since the process and level of acculturation may be important to understanding minority individuals' experiences, especially those who come from an ethnically or culturally mixed background.

Separation (Berry et al., 1992), *cult of ethnicity* (Dana, 1993), and *traditional* (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994) refer to individuals whose emphasis is on maintaining their original culture. The ethnic minority individual places little value on adopting or adapting to the dominant culture's patterns. This cultural preference has been also labelled as ethnic affirmation (Triandis et al., 1986); Mendoza and Martinez (1981) refer to it as cultural resistance.

Conversely, *assimilation* (Berry et al., 1992; Comas-Diaz & Greene, 1994; Dana, 1993; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Winkelman, 1994) refers to individuals who choose to adapt to the dominant society's culture, while forsaking their native cultural identity and characteristics. Assimilation is considered nontraditional since the cultural traditions into which the individual is initially socialized are replaced by those of the dominant culture. Other researchers have labeled this strategy as accommodation (Triandis, Kashima, Shimada, & Villareal, 1986) and cultural shift (Mendoza & Martinez, 1981).

Individuals who value the acquisition of the dominant society's culture while preserving their original cultural values represent what Berry et al. (1992) labels as *integration*. The individual maintains his or her own cultural integrity and also moves to participate as an integral part of the larger social group, incorporating both sets of cultural values. Integration has also been referred to as alternation (LaFromboise, et al., 1993) and cultural incorporation (Mendoza & Martinez, 1981). This might be the basis for becoming *bicultural* (although not biethnic, according to this study).

Marginality (Berry, et al., 1992) is used when the individual shows no interest in maintaining his or her native culture or adopting that of the dominant society. As described above, it includes a combination of both culture of origin and dominant cultural values and practices that are unique to the individual, but these do not belong to either culture. To describe this process, Mendoza and Martinez (1981) use the term cultural transmutation.

It is important to note that acculturation does not necessarily imply emotional attachment (or lack of) to the particular culture or ethnic group into which the individual is acculturated; it mainly points to the frame of reference that determines social interactions and behaviors. For example, minority individuals in the United States may acculturate to the dominant White society in an attempt to avoid discrimination, thus appearing behaviorally White. However, they may or may not be emotionally attached to or identify with the mainstream culture or group, and they certainly do not become ethnically White. Similarly, individuals of the dominant society may be acculturated to an ethnic minority's group culture upon exposure and acceptance of the minority's cultural practices and values. Traditional ethnic minority individuals, on the other hand, may appear behaviorally in contrast with the dominant White society, while aspiring to and valuing the dominant society's culture. Consequently, the cultural values and practices that the individual will adopt and the degree to which she or he is acculturated are not intrinsic to the individual's racial or ethnic background; these become the individual's culture.

Cross-Cultural Adaptation

The concepts presented in the previous section refer to the realities of dealing with and adjusting to more than one culture which are part of the individual's environment within which she or he is raised. The terms described in this section explain the process of adapting to an unfamiliar culture(s) which is(are) not part of the individual's background. Exposure to new cultures seems to involve specific cognitive and emotional demands, different from those imposed upon individuals born within two cultures. People experiencing cross-cultural adaptation may also need to develop new cognitive and psychological skills, as well as new behavioral strategies. The type and intensity of the demands imposed on the individual by the new culture are likely to depend on the amount of learning, change, and adjustment involved (i.e., with geographic moves, new language, food, climate, etc.); the extent to which the individual's original culture and environment differ from the new ones. The stress of adapting to and living in a new culture may have physiological as well as psychological consequences (Winkelman, 1994). Two independent terms, cultural shock and intercultural effectiveness, have been related to the process of cross-cultural adaptation.

Cultural shock. According to Winkelman (1994), cultural shock is the "multifaceted experience resulting from multiple stressors occurring in contact with a different culture" (p. 121). Initially conceptualized by Oberg (1954, 1960), cultural shock is the physical and emotional consequence of the tension and anxiety suffered by the individual as a result of coming in contact with a new culture. Feelings of loss, confusion, and impotence are prevalent when this experience involves the loss of accustomed cultural cues and social rules (Oberg, 1960). "Feelings of impotence stem

from the inability to deal with the environment because of the unfamiliarity with cognitive aspects and role-playing skills" (Taft, 1977, p. 125). The implications of cultural shock may be extensive and they derive from both the challenge of new cultural surrounding and the loss of a familiar environment (Rhinesmith, 1985).

There are several different events that may cause cultural shock, such as immigration of foreign students and refugees (Dodge, 1990), overseas assignments (Walton, 1990), institutional reorganizations (Knobel, 1988), massive social changes (Toffler, 1970), etc. Given the increasingly multicultural nature of society, most individuals in the United States experience some degree of cultural shock by being exposed to unfamiliar cultural settings (Merta, Stringham, & Ponterotto, 1988). Cultural shock in the U.S. might be an important source of interpersonal stress for many people, since cross-cultural conflict and immersion are likely to occur. Shock reactions to cultural differences may impede performance, provoking psychological crises or social dysfunctions (Winkelman, 1994), in addition to increasing the likelihood of discrimination.

The leading circumstances and the individual's reaction to cultural shock depend on a variety of factors including previous experience with other cultures and capacity for cross-cultural adaptation; the degree of difference between the individual's cultural background and the host culture; social support networks; and individual psychological characteristics (Cui & Van den Berg, 1991; Furnham & Bochner, 1986). Dealing with cultural shock requires awareness of its presence and implementation of new behaviors. Recognition of the nature of and reactions to cultural shock provides the basis for

reframing the situation with adaptive responses and effective problem-solving strategies (Winkelman, 1994).

Four stages have been typically differentiated in cultural shock and its resolution (Ferraro, 1990; Kohls, 1984; Oberg, 1954; Preston, 1985); Adler (1975) and Rhinesmith (1985) describe five and eight stages respectively. The four primary phases involve (1) the honeymoon or tourist phase; (2) the crisis or cultural shock phase; (3) the adjustment, reorientation, and gradual recovery phase; and (4) the adaptation, resolution, and acculturation phase. These phases are considered to be both sequential and cyclical. Individuals may shift from crisis to adjustment and adaptation as they encounter new situations which require additional adjustment. When the adaptation phase is a permanent stage, then the individual is considered to be bicultural (Winkelman, 1994).

The honeymoon or tourist phase is characterized by interest, euphoria, excitement, sleeplessness, positive expectations, and idealization about the new culture; differences are exciting and interesting. Anxiety and stress are interpreted positively, especially when the individual does not have to deal directly with the stressful part of the local culture (Winkelman, 1994).

The crisis phase may emerge immediately upon arrival or may occur after the honeymoon phase ends; starting with a severe crisis or a series of escalating problems, negative experiences, and reactions. Although there are great individual differences, cultural shock has some typical features: minor issues become big problems, cultural differences become irritating, and disappointments, frustrations, and tension increases. According to Winkelman (1994) "life does not make sense and one may feel helpless, confused, disliked by others, or treated like a child. A sense of lack of control of one's

life may lead to depression, isolation, anger, and hostility ... depression may become serious; one generally wants to go home!" (p. 122).

Adjustment and reorientation phase. In order to achieve resolution of the cultural shock and crises phases the individual needs to learn effective and acceptable adjustments to the new culture. There may be adjustment without adaptation, such as returning home or using ethnic enclaves as a form of isolation from the new culture. Living in an ethnic enclave, according to Winkelman (1994), is a typical lifetime reaction to cultural shock of many first-generation immigrants. In order to achieve effective functioning, however, it is necessary to adjust and adapt. During this phase, the individual begins to accept the new culture, developing effective coping strategies. Negative responses to the new culture decrease, as the individual recognizes that problems arise from a lack of understanding, acceptance, and adaptation. Adjustment is slow, involving recurrent crises and readjustments.

Adaptation, resolution, or acculturation phase. As the individual develops stable adaptations this stage is achieved. Learned problem-solving skills lead to effective management and resolution of culturally based difficulties. There are many different adaptation options. Winkelman (1994) states that "full assimilation is difficult if not impossible". However, it is possible to undergo substantial personal change, acculturate, and develop a bicultural identity. It is essential for individuals to accept that effective adaptation requires personal change, leading to the development of a bicultural identity and the integration of new cultural aspects into the individual's previous self-concept. Reaching this stage entails a constructive response to cultural shock with effective means of adaptation (Winkelman, 1994).

Intercultural effectiveness. This construct refers to the development of specific psychological and cognitive resources needed for living within and adapting effectively to a new culture (Cui, 1989). During the process of dealing with and resolving cultural shock, the individual may develop these resources, known as *intercultural effectiveness* (ICE). ICE has been used to explore dimensions that predict cross-cultural adaptation, including the minority individual's ability for constructive communication across different culture(s). It is proposed that ICE might be somewhat dependent on the degree of acculturation; conversely, acculturation may depend on the developed level of ICE (adapted from Cui & Van den Berg, 1991).

Intercultural effectiveness is measured in terms of the individual's cognitive, affective, and behavioral competence (e.g., Kealey & Ruben, 1983; Kim, 1988). The cognitive dimension includes knowledge of the language, nonverbal behavior, and communication rules of the interacting individual's ethnicity. The affective dimension requires a set of perceptions toward the other person's culture that would enable the interacting individuals to position themselves in a "compatible psychological orientation" (Kim, 1988). The affective quality is the ability to acknowledge cultural/ethnic differences, and to empathize with each other's cultural norms and values. The third aspect, the behavioral dimension, requires the individual to demonstrate her or his cognitive and affective qualities in social interactions.

Cognitive sub-components. Having competent communication skills is of vital importance, since cross-cultural adaptation occurs through communication (Kim, 1988). The elements that comprise this dimension are language ability and interpersonal skills;

the latter includes the ability to initiate conversation, and establish and maintain a meaningful relationship (Hammer, Gudykunst, & Wiseman, 1978).

Affective Components. Cultural empathy is the capacity to be flexible in dealing with ambiguity and unfamiliarity. It includes tolerance for uncertainty, empathy for cultural norms and values, and awareness of cultural differences (adapted from Kim, 1989).

Behavioral Components. Communication includes a variety of behavioral patterns in the intercultural communication process, such as role behavior, social interaction, etc. (Ruben & Kealey, 1979). Appropriate social behavior and display of respect for the other person's culture are considered the most important (Cui & Van den Berg, 1991).

These dimensions are the integral and indispensable parts of ICE; they are interdependent and one cannot function without the other two (Cui & Van den Berg, 1991). It is the integration of the cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes that enables individuals from different cultures to become fully engaged in their interactions (adapted from Kim, 1989). In addition, certain personality traits have been found to be influential in determining cross-cultural adaptation, particularly patience and flexibility (Cui & Van den Berg, 1991).

Cultural Homelessness

Being an ethnic minority oftentimes requires dealing with and adapting to differences between the family's and the dominant society's culture. Racially and ethnically mixed families may require additional intra-familial cultural adaptation (adaptation to different cultures within the family). Moreover, when the family makes

geographic moves which require extra-familial cross-cultural adaptation, the individual may have to learn new cultural frames of reference, incorporate them into his or her emotional, cognitive, and behavioral repertoire, and shift between them as needed according to particular interactions and situations. In the present study, the latter is referred to as cross-cultural codeswitching (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999).

Cultural homelessness (CH) has been defined by Vivero and Jenkins (1999) as an individual's feelings of not belonging to any particular ethno-cultural group; that is, lacking a cultural home. CH individuals feel that they cannot identify with and/or are not accepted as members of any cultural group. They are unable to use any particular ethnic/cultural group as a reference group, since their cultural values and practices are not characteristic of any existing group but of a combination of different groups. In addition, CH individuals lack the emotional attachment typically associated with group membership, since they tend to experience all cultural groups as the out-group, likely producing feelings of being a minority in any group situation and/or environment. Finally, CH individuals feel the need to find a place they can call their "cultural home" but are unable to do so; it is the feeling of "wanting to be home, but not knowing where home is or how it feels" (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999; p. 13). CH may result in social isolation and pervasive feelings of shame, due to being different from everyone else. Cultural homelessness may have a strong developmental component.

In essence, CH is an extension of Stonequist's (1937) concept of marginality; the culturally homeless individual is marginal in several cultures. However, CH departs from marginality in that it includes specific social, cognitive, and emotional aspects and consequences. While individuals with parents of the same ethnic background may be

able to self-identify with a group on the basis of a common ethnicity, racially and/or ethnically mixed individuals may find it more difficult to do so, if unable to integrate their multicultural experiences. Hall (1980) argued that the source of difficulties for mixed race individuals lies in the ethnic groups' antagonism, and not necessarily in the disparity between cultures. However, the different ethnic groups to which the person partially belongs may have contradictory cultural values, even without the intergroup friction. This is likely to produce conflict since it forces the individual to make decisions favoring one set of values over the other; thus, multicultural integration may not be possible. Inability to identify with any ethnic group may preclude ethnically mixed individuals from adhering to a consistent set of cultural values; they may be repeatedly confronted with having to choose and shift (codeswitch) between these conflicting values. Moreover, CH individuals may also evidence significant advantages which marginal non-CH individuals may not have, such as cognitive flexibility, ability to perceive the world from more than one cultural perspective, cross-cultural competence, etc. (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999a).

Multiethnic individuals may also feel constantly forced to make these decisions in an attempt to achieve a sense of belonging, or to be accepted by any one group. They may spend a significant amount of emotional and psychic energy trying to fit into and adapt to different cultural groups, to attain membership; failure to do so may constitute the basis of CH. Even if multiethnic individuals feel accepted by one or more groups they may always have the sense that they are disregarding, forsaking, or violating the other part(s) of their ethno-cultural heritage (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999a).

It is important to point out that not all individuals with an ethnically mixed background develop CH. Individuals may develop a healthy personal identity while having different reference group orientations, as racial attitudes change over time (Cross, 1987). On the other hand, CH may not be limited to ethnic mixing, when broader meanings of the definition of culture are considered. Factors other than multiple ethnicities such as parents with different religions, social status, etc. may lead to or precipitate the development of CH. Sexual orientation, distinct gender socialization patterns, and particular social class customs also have often been referred to as cultures. Frequent cross-cultural moves which involve repeated exposures to unfamiliar cultural surroundings, experiences of cultural shock, and constant demands for developing and using ICE may also predispose the individual to cultural homelessness.

In summary, CH is characterized by repeated experiences of multi-group rejection, feelings of not belonging to any group, struggles to attain membership within the desired group(s), and the need to find a cultural home. Culturally homeless individuals typically report early immersion in more than one culture (not limited to ethnic culture), being repeatedly subjected to contradictory demands from those cultures, and feeling lack of socialization support for reconciling these contradictions (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999a). It is hypothesized that situations that predispose to CH may include: having more than one culture present in the home (e.g., parents and/or grandparents of different ethnicities); cultural differences between the social environment and the family; and/or multiple cross-cultural family moves at a young age. Thus, CH individuals may experience themselves as culturally different from both their family members and their social surroundings.

Theoretically, cultural homelessness is a construct consisting of three equally important content domains: lack of cultural group membership, lack of emotional attachment to any cultural group, and need for a cultural home. Individuals are identified as CH when all three conceptual domains are simultaneously present; these are described as follows and summarized in Table 1, Appendix A:

I. ***Lack of Ethnic/Cultural Group Membership***. The individual reports subjective feelings of "not belonging" to any cultural group, due to lack of identification with any particular group and/or because of being rejected as a member by all existing ethnic/cultural groups. This includes a struggle to determine ethnic group membership and unsuccessful attempts to find an ethnic/cultural group which represents the individual's cultural values and practices. Lack of group membership implies that the individual is unable to use any existing cultural/ethnic reference group as the basis for his or her behaviors, thoughts, and feelings.

II. ***Lack of Emotional Attachment to any Cultural Group***. The individual does not feel emotionally attached to any cultural/ethnic group; every group is considered by the individual as the "out-group". CH individuals typically report being confused about their ethnic/cultural identity and unable to find a group which they could call their cultural home. Partial identification with and/or emotional attachment to more than one group might be present, but these are not sufficiently strong to constitute the individual's cultural home. Often, CH individuals feel that no single cultural group represents who they are and how they feel.

III. ***Need for a Cultural Home***. The individual wants or needs a place to call his or her "cultural home" but is unable to find such place, producing subjective feelings of

emotional distress and/or concern. This may include excessive preoccupation with finding a cultural home and feelings of being a cultural minority everywhere he or she goes. The need to resolve or integrate contradictory cultural frames of reference is likely to be present.

Since CH is a newly generated theoretical construct there are no systematic measures to detect its presence. One of the goals of this study is to develop an instrument to measure CH, taking the initial steps toward construct validity. This goal will be achieved by first laying the foundation and establishing the theoretical framework for understanding CH; second, by conceptually relating CH to other similar concepts; and third, by developing and testing a self-report measure of CH, and initiating the validation of CH as a construct.

According to Haynes et al. (1995) and Foster and Cone (1995), construct validity is not a step or a "study" but a process, involving repetitive cycles of conceptually-deriving, operationally-defining, and empirically-guiding, adapting and reframing the construct until evidence of validity is accumulated. The authors propose that construct validation of a theoretically derived construct is achieved through an iterative process in which the parameters of both theory and construct are defined, shaped, and redefined based on repeated feedback cycles between empirical results and the reconceptualized theoretical framework (for details on this process see Haynes et al., 1995, and Foster & Cone, 1995).

Cultural Homelessness and Inter-Cultural Effectiveness: Conceptual Link

It may be possible to further expand the construct of intercultural effectiveness, if only conceptually, to understand and explain some of the basis for CH. However, before

linking the framework underlying intercultural effectiveness to the concept of cultural homelessness, a forewarning is needed. ICE was developed for a different purpose (adult sojourner's cross-cultural adaptation vs. child's intra-familial cultural adaptation), and the researched population (mainly White male, adult, professionals) and circumstances are different than those under which cultural homelessness is hypothesized to develop. Nevertheless, the theoretical assumptions of intercultural effectiveness seem to overlap with those of CH; thus, a conceptual adaptation of ICE has been made to describe the components that may influence the development of cultural homelessness.

Theoretically, several links between CH and ICE are suggested by the present study, representing their possible interdependence and the developmental consequences they each may have. It is hypothesized that the same multicultural experiences which may constitute the risk factors for developing CH, could also provide an individual with skills that would make him/her interculturally effective. It is possible that particular combinations of experiences (e.g., multiple geographic relocations, racially mixed family, and chronic minority status) may interact to determine whether these would become CH risk factors, the basis for ICE, or both. Furthermore, CH and ICE are likely to be developed within a continuum; their degree may depend on the emotional, cognitive, and social demands on and the resources available to the individual. Eight theoretical associations between ICE and CH have been specifically formulated, taking into account the potential developmental factors that may play a role linking these two concepts. These are presented next.

Vulnerability and/or adaptability. It seems possible that multiethnic individuals who fail to develop adequate levels of ICE may be more vulnerable to develop CH, since

they might be unable to adapt to any of their different ethnicities. Conversely, achieving or developing ICE may be one of the cognitive and/or emotional advantages of adapting to multiple cultures. Perhaps CH and ICE interact making the individual both emotionally vulnerable and cognitively flexible, allowing for the individual's behavioral adaptation to different cultures but preventing an emotional attachment to any ethnic group.

Conflict. Multiethnic individuals may develop high levels of ICE, in order to adapt to different cultural frames of reference. However, having several different frames of reference for understanding one's world, some of which are contradictory, may produce significant conflict for ethnically mixed individuals. In addition, having these conflicting reference points simultaneously present may create confusion, especially in young children who may not have the cognitive capacity to understand the source of this confusion. In turn, it may be more difficult for a confused individual (especially a child) to develop ICE, since one of its components is the capacity to be flexible in dealing with ambiguity and unfamiliarity; including tolerance for uncertainty. Conflict and confusion may prevent individuals from identifying with any ethnic group, thus, setting the basis for CH.

Mutuality. The multiethnic individual may make an effort to develop and use ICE with individuals of other ethnic groups; however, this may not be mutual. Individuals from other cultures may not feel the necessity or make the effort to understand the ethnically mixed individual (perhaps due to their lack of ICE). This could be viewed as similar to the interaction between members of the dominant culture and ethnic minorities in general. In many cases, acculturation of the minority individual into the majority's

culture is not only expected but required; failure to do so may be punished through discrimination, racism, and/or social isolation. However, members of the dominant culture may not consider it necessary to understand or empathize with the ethnic minority individual. Individuals with multiple ethnicities may be considered as "a minority within minorities"; they may feel that this is the case regardless of who they interact with, or in which country they live (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). Thus, multiethnic individuals may still develop CH, regardless of their ICE level, if their effort to understand cultural differences is not reciprocated by individuals of at least one other group.

Erroneous classification. High levels of ICE may make multicultural individuals "look like" either they belong (if there are no obvious racial differences) or are highly acculturated (if significant racial differences exist) to a particular ethnic group. This assumption may have two consequences: (1) the multiethnic individual is incorrectly classified and mislabeled, and (2) the individual may exert considerable effort trying to "fit" into the group in which she or he is being misclassified. In both cases the individual may be at high risk for CH.

(1) Erroneous ethnic group classification may entail the expectation that the individual behave, think, and feel according to that group's socio-cultural norms, roles, and values; the individual may be subjected to and judged by the wrong ethnic group's standards. Other ethnic groups may stereotype and/or discriminate against the multiethnic individual, based on this misclassification. For example, an ethnically mixed South-American/European individual may be seen by Americans as being Mexican, and therefore be expected to conform to Mexican stereotypes. Likewise, they may be discriminated against for being Mexican-like, disregarding the significant cultural

differences between the individual's mixed culture and the group in which he or she is erroneously classified. On the other hand, a German/African-American individual highly acculturated to the dominant culture may be expected to behave, think, and feel like White-Americans. Rejection may come from other African-Americans who consider the individual as being "too White" and from Whites because of not being "White enough".

(2) High ICE multiethnic individuals may successfully adapt to and behave like the ethnic group into which they are misclassified. However, the individual may neither feel emotionally attached to the group nor be accepted as member of that group. Nevertheless, the multiethnic individual may still exert considerable cognitive and emotional effort trying to fit into this group. Moreover, even if ethnically mixed individuals are not misclassified, they may attempt to achieve group membership by outwardly expressing thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that conform to the desired group. Internally, however, the individual remains emotionally detached, lonely, and unable to fit; in other words, "homeless" (Vivero, 1998).

Costs of intercultural effectiveness. In order to develop adequate ICE, individuals may first need to deal with and overcome the effects of cultural shock; doing so may cause significant cognitive and emotional fatigue. ICE also may require significant exertion of cognitive, emotional, and psychic energy, since high levels of attunement and capacity for observing and responding appropriately to social cues are needed. This may affect the multiethnic individual in two areas: social interactions in general and relationships within the family.

In social interactions, multiethnic individuals may feel pressured to use ICE to communicate with any and all individuals they come in contact with, or risk social

isolation. The effort required to avoid social isolation may be exhausting for the multicultural individual, leading to self-isolation due to his or her inability or unwillingness to spend the energy demanded by the social interactions.

Intra-familial mixed context may require the individual to deal with two or more cultures when interacting with different family members. Frequent contacts with culturally different family members may require the individual to codeswitch, using different cultural frames of reference and ICE "sets" (including language) depending on whom she or he is interacting with. This may be stressful (both cognitively and emotionally), confusing, and exhausting, especially for young children.

Expectations. ICE allows individuals to effectively communicate with and be culturally sensitive to different ethnicities, both values and people. Multiethnic individuals may be expected, by themselves and others, to develop adequate levels of competency in all the ICE dimensions. Failure to do so may constitute the basis for shame, guilt, and self-blame, particularly in children. Inadequate and incorrect code-switching may also make the individual feel and appear socially inappropriate and inept, furthering the shame and self-blame.

Marginality and out-groups. Ethnically mixed individuals might be at high risk for becoming marginal. The individual's unusual frames of reference, failure to achieve group membership, and lack of a consistent reference group may be three of the leading causes of marginality.

(1) The multiethnic individual's cultural attitudes, values, perspectives, and behaviors may be an unusual combination of reference points, given the multiplicity of sources from which they are drawn. This ethnically mixed frame of reference may not be

understood and/or accepted by others. Borrowing from Stonequist's (1937) view of marginality, the resulting cultural frame of reference of the multiethnic individual is only partially consistent with any single ethnic group, but not wholly consistent with any. Thus, all ethnic groups may reject the individual as member of that group.

(2) Feelings of not belonging to an in-group, due to rejection from or inability to identify with any ethnic group, may lead CH individuals to spend a significant amount of energy attempting to achieve membership. This is in addition to the ICE energy required to communicate with and adapt to the ethnic group in which the multiethnic individual desires to become a member.

(3) By definition, ICE develops in response to the individual's need for communicating with the out-group(s). The multiethnic individual may learn effective cross-cultural communication (requisite for ICE), facilitating the individual's understanding of and adaptation to other ethnic groups. However, members of these other groups still constitute the out-group, at least emotionally. The CH individual could be described in terms of "all ethnic reference groups are the out-group"; this may be the underlying foundation of CH (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999).

Intercultural effectiveness experience in monocultural individuals. Monocultural individuals who experience cross-cultural moves may develop and/or increase their levels of ICE. Developing high levels of ICE may lead the individual to acquire a different ethnic frame of reference or change the existing one by integrating parts of another. This may be especially so when the individual encounters unfamiliar social situations. In addition, when ethnic awareness and ethnic identity become salient for the minority child,

developing adequate levels of ICE might be crucial (even if the individual or child is of the dominant culture, a cross-cultural move could place him/her in a minority status).

Upon returning to their native country, individuals may find that their cross-ethnic experiences are not accepted and/or valued by the former in-group; emotional, cognitive, and/or behavioral distance between the individual and his or her ethnic group may occur. If the differences between the previous and the new frames of reference are significant, the individual may be rejected as a member of the original in-group to which he or she once belonged. If the individual's new frame of reference is not consistent with that of any existing ethnic group, CH is likely to occur.

Both CH and ICE may offer significant cognitive advantages. However, it appears that CH individuals may have important emotional and social deficits, such as not having an in-group, feelings of isolation, rejection, shame, and a sense of social incompetence, regardless of ICE levels. Constant pressure to use high levels of ICE, in addition to codeswitching and shifting across different ICE sets, may have additional emotional and social consequences; although it is unclear whether and how these might be related to CH. Possible factors theoretically influencing the development of CH are addressed in the following section; some of these will also be empirically tested by this study.

Conceptual Integration

The theoretical framework for this study draws from different fields concerned with the study of ethnicity. The following integration of concepts and definitions sets the theoretical groundwork upon which cultural homelessness is built. Also, the models and

theories on which this work is based (Marcia's ego development and the systems model) are explained and adapted to support this conceptual integration.

Drawing from the sociological definitions of in- and out-group, other constructs that denote group acceptance or rejection (Cross, 1971; LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Smith, 1991), and the concept of cultural homelessness, four general categories of ethnic group preference and their corresponding level of acculturation can be described (a summary of these four conceptual categories is depicted in Figure 1, Appendix A):

1. In-group and out-group acceptance; integrates both minority and dominant groups' cultural values and practices.

   (Allocentrism: Smith, 1976; Internalization Stage: Cross, 1971; Transcendental Stage: Thomas, 1971; Multiethnic Identity: Poston, 1990; Integration: Berry et al., 1992; Biculturalism: LaFromboise et al., 1993; Cultural Incorporation: Mendoza & Martinez, 1981).
2. In-group acceptance and out-group rejection; maintains own ethnic group's culture, while rejecting the dominant culture

   (Ethnocentrism: LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Encounter & Immersion-Emmersion Stage: Cross, 1971; Separation: Berry et al., 1992; Traditional: Landrine & Klonoff, 1994).
3. In-group rejection and out-group acceptance; relinquishes own group's culture, while adopting the dominant culture's values and practices

   (Pre-encounter stage: Cross, 1971; Assimilation: Berry et al., 1992; Accomodation: Triandis et al., 1986; Cultural Shift: Mendoza & Martinez, 1981).

4. In-group and out-group rejection; forms a new set of cultural values and practices different from those of both the culture of origin and dominant culture (Marginality: Stonequist, 1937; Marginality: Berry et al., 1992; Cultural Transmutation: Mendoza & Martinez, 1981; Cultural Homelessness: Vivero & Jenkins, 1999).

The fourth category has been generally overlooked throughout the literature and is the central focus of the present study. It may be characterized by states such as ethnic identity confusion and ethnic identity moratorium (adapted from and discussed under Marcia's (1966) ego identity status model). Furthermore, ethnically mixed individuals may have the additional difficulty of being unable to identify clearly the in- and out-groups, thus developing cultural homelessness. Although culturally homeless individuals may not actively reject either group and may reach adequate levels of acculturation (sometimes resembling integration), they may still be unable to self-identify with or emotionally attach to any ethnic group. Alternatively, culturally homeless individuals may be able to identify only partially with more than one group, but feel actively rejected by all of them, which is also part of the underlying theoretical structure upon which CH is built.

The associations among these conceptual categories and the hypothesized development of cultural homelessness are explained in a separate section, within the context of ethnic/racial identity development and the systems model of communication. However, to discuss the basis for and implications of these four ethnic preferences and/or attitudes, it is important to understand the current theoretical disagreements on what constitutes ethnic/racial identity and how it emerges. The conflicts arising from the

different perspectives taken to build theories and models of ethnic identity development are presented next. A conceptual integration of the definitions described above is used as a possible frame for resolving some of the existing controversies in the literature.

Conflicting Approaches to Theory Development

Disagreement over terminology is only one challenge that theorists and researchers have encountered. In addition to the difficulty of creating a common language and understanding for the study of racial and ethnic issues, there are serious divergences on how to conceptualize, measure, and interpret ethnic/racial identity. The oftentimes contradictory perspectives and approaches to building theories differ along several dimensions: (1) how to bridge the definitional disagreements; (2) the classification and definition of ethnic minority individuals into particular groups; (3) the applicability of current models and theories to different ethnic groups; and (4) the conflicting assumptions underlying the current models and theories of ethnicity. Theoretical and empirical differences along these four dimensions are shown in disagreements as to whether ethnic identity formation is a stage-developmental process; what are the consequences when ethnic identity is not achieved; whether ethnic identity is essential for an individual's healthy development; and whether ethnic group membership is an ideal goal, a human need, the most important aspect in determining ethnic identity, and/or a social consequence. The present section describes some of these concerns, according to the most influential models.

Bridging Definitional Disagreements

As explained earlier, several authors have advocated the replacement of the term race in favor of ethnicity (Phinney, 1996; Smith, 1991; Yee, 1992a). However, it remains

unclear whether ethnicity simply encompasses race, or whether these are two different constructs or dimensions of the individual. Also, substituting ethnicity for race does not answer the question of whether racial identity and ethnic identity are the same, or whether they constitute different aspects of the individual's identity.

Some theorists claim that there are genetic (physical) differences across races, but these differences are not inherent between different cultures or ethnicities (Johnson, 1990; Poston, 1990). As an example, Johnson (1990) points out that biracial children possess a combination of the physical (genetic) characteristics of different racial ancestries; these genetic differences are not seen in individuals of mixed culture or ethnicity. However, this view of genetic racial differences could be contested by those who advocate adopting the term ethnicity to encompass race (i.e., Phinney, 1996; Smith, 1991).

Another perspective is that of Landrine and Klonoff (1996b), who argue that "ethnic groups are lumped together and called 'Black' and 'White' races not because they differ genetically, but for purely political purposes" (p. ii). They propose that individuals need to be understood in terms of the extent to which they are immersed in their own culture rather than in terms of race or biology. Without clear definitions in this area, it is difficult to reach any consensus on the development of racial vs. ethnic identity.

The lack of agreement in the distinction between ethnic and racial issues has broad consequences for categorization and classification of individuals according to their ethnicity and race. As Herring (1995) points out, "the question of who is a biracial child is often asked, with varying responses" (p. 29). Poston (1990) and Herring (1995) use the term biracial, rather than biethnic or bicultural, to refer to individuals of racially mixed

parents (Hispanic-White) regardless of the individual's ethnic self-identification or cultural background. Furthermore, perhaps a distinction needs to be made between individuals who grow up in two or more cultures but have same-race parents vs. those with mixed-race parents. Same-race/bicultural individuals (i.e., Italian-American and Irish-American; Black-African and African-American) might be better described as biethnic. Bicultural individuals who are also racially mixed (i.e., Black-White Americans; Asian-Black Americans; Hispanic-Asian Americans) may better fit biracial models. Furthermore, culture is not limited to race and ethnicity, it could be related to other dimensions of the individual's self-identity (e.g., religion, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, etc.). However, the distinctions between racial and ethnic identity, and their relationship with culture involve theoretical and empirical issues that are beyond the scope of this study.

Whether racially (and therefore also ethnically) mixed individuals differ significantly from same-race ethnically mixed individuals in their identity development and whether it is necessary to differentiate between them are also questions not addressed by the present work. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that further research might be needed before assuming that race and racial identity can be incorporated into the "broader" scope of ethnicity and ethnic identity (e.g., are biracial individuals more rejected by both ethnic groups than biethnic individuals?). In addition, one of the purposes of this study is to examine the consequences of an individual's bicultural or multicultural status; thus the distinction between race and ethnicity will be made when relevant to CH. Racial minority individuals' self-esteem and interpersonal relationships are shaped by their visible traits, while ethnicity may not be physically obvious.

Experiencing rejection due to physically visible and unchangeable personal characteristics (such as race) is likely to have a different impact on the individual than being an ethnic or cultural minority of the dominant race (e.g., non-American Caucasian).

Individuals whose physical appearance is either racially difficult to classify or leads to chronic misclassification may feel rejection from their own group(s) as well as from other ethnic groups, perhaps predisposing to or precipitating CH. For example, minority individuals who "pass" (for White) may be rejected by members of their own ethnic group because of the perceived privilege that their racial features and potential misclassification may afford them. This may leave the individual without membership in the group with which she or he can best identify based on a shared ethnicity and cultural upbringing, and unable to identify ethnically with the dominant group; rejection would be based on the individual's physical appearance (race), not their ethnicity. Interracial adoptions can also be used as an example to distinguish between race and ethnicity, as it is relevant to CH. An Asian child adopted by a White couple would be racially Asian, but if reared in a White American culture the child's ethnicity would likely be the product of mixed cultural experiences; acquiring White American customs, while experiencing discrimination for being a racial minority. This child's experiences are likely to be different from those of his or her Asian-American counterparts who are raised by both Asian parents and will also differ from those having racially mixed parents.

Individuals are designated in this study as monoracial, biracial, or multiracial, according to their racially mixed or non-mixed parentage; monoracial individuals have same-race parents. Similarly, individuals are classified as monoethnic, biethnic, or multiethnic depending on whether their parents belong to the same ethnic group

(monoethnic) regardless of their minority status. Figure 2, Appendix A presents the criteria by which individuals are categorized.

As outlined in this table, the terms biracial/multiracial are used only to identify individuals with different race parents; it always assumes different ethnicities. However, individuals with different parental ethnic backgrounds may or may not belong to a single race. No distinctions are made between three and more racial/ethnic backgrounds, these are referred to as multiracial and multiethnic, respectively. Race and ethnicity designations are made independently of the culture(s) within which the individual develops.

Another issue that needs to be clarified for the purpose of this study is the distinction between individuals who have acquired only one set of cultural values (monocultural) vs. those who have learned more than one (bicultural or multicultural). The ambiguous usage of the term bicultural has made it difficult to study and classify individuals solely on the basis of their race and ethnicity. It is important to understand the familial and social cultural context that influenced the individual's development. Figure 3, Appendix A outlines the basis for classifying people as monocultural, bicultural, or multicultural, according to their environment, regardless of their ethnic classification.

Difficulties in describing ethnic groups, mainly due to large within-group variations (Phinney, 1996; Uba, 1994), may stem partly from the lack of distinction between monocultural and bicultural individuals. Disagreements on the definition and classification of monocultural/bicultural individuals may account for a significant portion of the within-group variations. For example, are African-Americans (or Mexican-,

Asian-Americans, etc.) who live in a mainly White-American environment bicultural or monocultural? Do they have the same ethnic beliefs, norms, and values as African-Americans who develop within an African-American community? Are children of two Mexican parents in a mainly White environment more similar to Mexican-White racially mixed children than to monocultural Mexican (same race parents in a mainly Mexican community)? Who would experience more rejection and by which ethnic group? The questions and difficulties of determining who is bicultural/biethnic become more complex for individuals with a multiethnic/racial background. Social contexts which are different from the family's ethnic and/or cultural background may have a strong developmental impact, particularly during the socialization phases of childhood and adolescence.

Additional cultural background information beyond parentage and familial/social cultural environment seems to be needed before making a clear distinction between monocultural and bicultural classifications. The information needed to make this distinction likely includes issues regarding the individual's integration vs. separation from the White culture, level of acculturation, predominant culture of the surrounding environment, minority status within the community, etc. As previously stated, classification and ethnic-specific models presented in this study assume that monoracial individuals have same-race parents and monoethnic individuals have parents who belong to the same ethnic group. Thus, African-, Hispanic-, Asian-, and Native-American groups are hereby considered to be monoethnic/monocultural minorities in addition to monoracial, unless there is evidence indicating immersion in more than one culture (e.g., minority and dominant cultures). Similarly, bicultural and multiethnic models refer to

individuals who are culturally mixed, assuming two or more (respectively) different sets of cultural values, based on their parents' ethnic background. This classification excludes individuals who may be bicultural on the basis of family and social environment ethnic differences; these are classified as monoethnic, and bicultural or multicultural.

Much more research is needed to disentangle the complex interactions between race, ethnicity, and culture as well as to address questions regarding the influence of each of these dimensions upon the individual's self-identity. Whether there are significant differences between multiracial, multiethnic, and multicultural individuals is also an issue which requires more theoretical formulation and reframing than is intended in this study. However, the complexity, variability, and ambiguity of ethnic classification need to be mentioned here, in order to point out the difficulties of describing particular ethnic groups and characterizing individuals within these groups. The purpose of this study is not to detect all possible distinctions between racially and ethnically mixed individuals, but to determine the impact of being part of multiple cultures, the effects of the interaction between family and social environment, and which of several elements is more likely to lead or contribute to cultural homelessness. In order to understand better some basic differences between ethnic minority groups and the possible cultural conflicts that multiethnic and/or multicultural individuals may experience, a general description of the major ethnic minority groups in America is presented next.

Classification and Description of Ethnic Minorities

Despite the long-standing recognition of the need to identify cultural variables that distinguish ethnic groups, little has been done to accomplish this (Phinney, 1996). Several authors (e.g., Comas-Diaz & Greene, 1994; Dana, 1993; Gibbs & Huang, 1989;

Harrison et al., 1990; Marin & Marin, 1991; McAdoo, 1993; Poston, 1990) have attempted to categorize individuals into particular ethnic groups, providing descriptions of these groups based on common characteristics, shared by people who self-identify as or are considered to be members of that group.

Monocultural minority groups. It has been generally recognized that efforts to describe, characterize, and generalize particular ethnic groups' cultures are limited by within-group heterogeneity, lack of empirical research, and conclusions based on informal observation rather than empirical data (Uba, 1994). However, despite these limitations, current ethnic minority categories and descriptions continue to be considered as core characteristics that many accounts agree on (Dana, 1993; Phinney, 1996); they continue to be used without further validation or empirical support. As stated earlier, the four groups presented next (African-, Asian-, Native-Americans and Hispanics) are considered and described as monocultural minorities.

African-American individuals have been socialized within both the African and the White American cultural systems, absorbing some of the dominant culture. Thus, their practices and values reflect a combination of their own culture, originally from the West African coast, as well as that of the dominant society (Comas-Diaz & Greene, 1994). Akbar (1985) states that African worldviews are reflected in the statement "I am because we are"; underscoring the important value of tribe over the individual, with emphasis on interdependence and collective responsibility. African-Americans have been described as reflecting the continuing African influence in contemporary Black lifestyles. This influence has resulted in characteristics such as emotional vitality, collective survival, oral traditions, time perception, and interdependence, particularly

within the extended family (White & Parham, 1990). Personal styles and attributes are valued rather than material possessions and social status within the dominant culture, also revealing African cultural roots (Boykin, 1985).

Jones (1988) describes Black culture in terms of five dimensions: time, rhythm, improvisation, oral expression, and spirituality. These dimensions, in conjunction with the appreciation for personal distinctiveness, can be seen in the styles of African-American music and dance, which highlight improvisation and originality (Comas-Diaz & Greene, 1994). There is a heightened sensitivity to non-verbal communication; preferred forms of verbal communication are oral or auditory rather than written (Boykin, 1985; Hale-Benson, 1986).

A special value is placed on children as representing the continuity of life; thus, the roles of child bearer and child rearer are highly important (Bell, 1971; Nobles, 1974). In African-American culture, family is defined as "an extended kinship network rather than as the nuclear unit central to White cultural values" (Comas-Diaz & Greene, 1994, p. 13). Non-blood relations who have close emotional attachments to the family are treated and experienced as family. Thus, African-American children have many people involved in their upbringing in addition to their natural parents. The concept of motherhood is not limited to biological mothers; many women play major roles in raising children. Children are viewed as part of a communal network, which may serve many adaptive purposes such as additional role models and further protection from racism (Hill, 1971; Stack, 1974).

The term "Asian" as a racial category encompasses vast and diverse populations, cultures, and extensive geographic territories. According to Bradshaw (1994), Asian as a

descriptive term is "grossly overinclusive and, for purposes of cultural understanding, meaningless". However, relative to the White American culture some general characteristics have been noted in Asian-Americans individuals with various degrees of acculturation.

Asian-American cultures have been characterized by an emphasis on maintaining harmony in relationships, the precedence of group over individual interests, and the importance of fulfilling obligations, particularly to the family (Uba, 1994). The emphasis on family and community as the organizing social structure exerts fundamental pressure on the individual to subordinate rather than elevate personal needs. The sense of belonging and obligation to the family extends throughout the family network, as well as forward to posterity and backward to ancestors (Shon & Ja, 1982).

Asian cultures vary regarding the degrees and expressions of individualism they tolerate among their members, especially for women; however, as a whole, Asian cultures promote the group as the proper focus of aspirations. Asian societies are not predicated on the ideology of personal freedom, but on that of group harmony (Bradshaw, 1994). The concern for harmony at all levels of human relationships underlies the passivity, fatalism (belief in the lack of efficacy of personal action to change future events), deference to authority, and conformity.

Native Americans have also been described in terms of common characteristics found to underlie American Indian tribes, despite their diversity (Bennett, 1994). Essentially, common themes center around the values placed on generosity, cooperation, community, and family. Attneave (1982) described Native American cultures as focused on the welfare of the group over the individual, present oriented, and in harmony with

nature. In addition, LaFromboise, Berman, and Sohi (1994) state that awareness of the past predominates over concerns for the future. American Indians view life as continuous and reciprocal, in which relationships are interdependent and patterns repeat themselves. According to Trimble (1981), Native American cultures value wisdom, intelligence, poise, tranquility, cooperation, unselfishness, responsibility, kindness, and respect for all forms of life. Elders are venerated as the keepers of traditions and guides to traditional culture (Sullivan, 1983).

Collecting evidence from a variety of sources, Marin and Marin (1991) proposed that Hispanic or Latino/a individuals are characterized by high levels of interdependence, conformity, and a readiness to self-sacrifice for the welfare of the in-group members. They have the tendency to avoid conflict in interpersonal situations and are likely to show strong attachment, loyalty, and reciprocity toward members of their extended family. Hispanic cultures tend to value obedience toward authority figures and have a more flexible attitude toward time. They also may have more clearly defined gender roles in the family, stemming from what has been described as "marianism" and "machism" (Comas-Diaz, 1988).

At a group level, however, perhaps one of the most salient and empirically supported characteristics of the Latino culture is the importance and value of the family (Vasquez, 1994). Characteristics of the Chicano (Mexican-American) family have been described by Ramirez and Arce (1981) as "a strong, persistent familistic orientation; a widespread of highly integrated extended kinship systems, even for Chicanos who are three or more generations removed from Mexico; and the consistent preference of

Chicanos for relying on the extended family for support, as the primary means for coping with emotional stress" (p. 15).

An investigation (Sabogal et al., 1987) of Latino families and their acculturation identified three separate dimensions: family obligations (to provide material and emotional support to extended family members), perceived support from family members (family as reliable source of help), and family as referents (relatives as models for behavior and attitudes). Sabogal et al. found that familial obligations and family as referents were reliably predicted by acculturation; these dimensions decreased with acculturation. Perceived support from the family did not decrease significantly with acculturation. However, even highly acculturated Latinos were more family oriented than White non-Hispanic on all dimensions. These three dimensions were found to be core characteristics of Latino culture and did not vary among the sub-groups who participated in the study (Mexican-, Cuban-, and Central-Americans).

Biracial/Biethnic Groups. Biracial individuals are more difficult to identify and describe due to the lack of appropriate categories, from both the U.S. Bureau of the Census and research studies. Existing racial/ethnic categorization methods do not allow for the selection of biracial identification (Herring, 1995). In addition, there is a hierarchical social status system based upon skin color and biracial people have been given little choice in how they are identified (Root, 1990). For example, any person with non-white ethnic features or traceable non-white blood is considered non-white (Henriques, 1975). As a result, Poussaint (1984) notes than any individual with one black parent and one non-black parent is considered black. Mixed race persons from two

minority groups are likely to be identified by the blood of the lowest status parent (Root, 1990).

Further difficulties in detecting biracial individuals may stem from their tendency to identify, or at least self-classify, themselves with only one ethnic group (Poston, 1990). The problem is compounded by the resistance and mistrust of many interracial families to being studied (Poussaint, 1984; Wardle, 1987). Thus, this population has generally been ignored in the literature (Poston, 1990).

Multiracial/Multiethnic Individuals. According to LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993), multiethnic individuals combine in one person the issues and conflicts of interacting in more than two cultures, thus providing unique insight into the effects of being multicultural. A description of these individuals cannot be offered, since the combination of their multiple ethnicities and/or races offers significant individual variations. However, "whether multiethnic/multicultural individuals are confused outsiders or special individuals who possess a broader understanding of cultures, is a question that remains unanswered" (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996).

Two contradictory perspectives have prevailed throughout the literature regarding the developmental consequences that may be detected in multiracial/multiethnic individuals (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). One view was that of Park (1928) who stated that the marginal person (at the edge of two cultures) becomes "the individual with the keener intelligence, the wider horizon, the more detached and rational viewpoint" (pp. 375-376). In contrast, Stonequist (1931) contended that the marginal individual is a person caught between two cultures, never fitting in either one.

Until recently, Stonequist's perspective was generally accepted as prototypic of mixed race/ethnicity individuals (Berzon, 1978; Nakashima, 1992). The ethnically mixed individual was portrayed as a troubled and anxious outsider who lacks a clear ethnic identity (Gibbs, 1987; Sommers, 1964; Teicher, 1968). Individuals with a multiethnic background were presumed to have problems integrating their multiple cultures and developing a multiethnic/multicultural identity. However, in agreement with Park's (1950) perspective, some authors have focused on the advantages of a mixed heritage. Poston (1990) argues that achievement of a biracial identity is not only possible but also healthy. Multiethnic individuals may exhibit greater cognitive flexibility and bicultural competency (Hall, 1980; Ramirez, 1984; Wilson, 1984), and may be less ethnocentric than monoethnic individuals. In addition, the contention that multiethnic individuals have lower self-esteem and more psychological disadvantages than monoethnic minorities has not been generally supported by research (Cauce et al., 1992; Johnson & Nagoshi, 1986; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Stephan & Stephan, 1991). Describing this population and the factors that may contribute to the development of cultural homelessness are the focus of the present study.

Applicability of Current Models of Ethnic Identity

There is a wide variety of theoretical and empirical frameworks that attempt to account for the development of ethnic identity. Some of these ethnic models argue for a single, generalizable conceptualization for the development of ethnic identity, applicable to individuals of all ethnic backgrounds, within the context of their minority/majority status (Smith, 1991). Other theorists claim that different ethnic groups conform to different ethnic identity development models, according to their relative minority and

dominant position in society (Cross, 1971; Thomas, 1971; Rowe et al, 1994; White & Burke, 1987). In addition, some ethnic minority models are discussed in terms of oppression (African-American and Native-American models); other ethnicities are studied from an acculturation perspective (Hispanic and Asian models).

Furthermore, developmental psychology has provided the basis for conceptualizing racial/ethnic identity as part of the individual's overall self-concept, which is acquired and developed through a series of stages throughout the lifespan (Brookins, 1996; Gecas & Mortimer, 1987; Goodman, 1964; Harter, 1983; Helms, 1984, 1990b; Sue & Sue, 1990). However, it has been contended that the applicability of the stage theory to ethnic identity development is questionable (Bennett, Behrens, & Rowe, 1993; Sodowski, Seaberry, Gorgi, Lai, & Baliga, 1991; Tokar & Swanson, 1991b).

This section presents a general description of the current models of ethnic identity development. These are described in terms of their generalizability (applicable to all minority groups vs. ethnic-specific models), and are organized according to the ethnic group's relative minority and majority position in society.

General minority model. The *Minority Identity Development* (MID) model (Morten & Atkinson, 1983) is the most general example of ethnic identity development in minority individuals. The general minority model differs from ethnic specific frameworks (i.e., Cross, 1971; Poston, 1990; Rowe et al., 1994) in that it proposes developmental stages of racial/ethnic identity formation, common to all ethnic minorities. Generalizability of this model to all minority populations has not been supported by research (Poston, 1990), and it does not recognize the various unique developmental experiences that occur in different ethnic and cultural groups (Gibbs, 1987).

The MID model proposes five developmental stages (conformity, dissonance, resistance and immersion, introspection, synergetic articulation, and awareness) that oppressed people may experience as they struggle to understand themselves in terms of their own minority culture, the dominant culture, and the relationship between them. Each developmental stage presents with its own corresponding attitudes that are believed to be an integral part of the ethnic minority individual's identity. According to this model, the attitude toward self, toward others of the same and of different minority, and toward the dominant group change with each stage of development.

Smith's minority/majority status model. In agreement with the previous model, Smith's (1991) theory proposes that all ethnic minority individuals go through basically the same identity development process, influenced by their minority status. However, departing from the assumptions of the general minority identity model, Smith (1991) claims that her theoretical framework also applies to members of the dominant culture. She asserts that members of both minority and majority ethnic groups are affected by their minority/majority status, although differently.

Smith's (1991) theory also differs from ethnic specific minority models in that she reconceptualized and expanded the issue of racial identity development so it would not be limited just to race and oppression. Smith's theory of ethnic identity development and majority/minority status generates several propositions regarding status, ethnic identity development, and mental health. A major tenet of Smith's (1991) theory is that the power associated with a majority/minority status regulates the individual's development of an ethnic identity.

Smith (1991) theorizes that in ethnic contact situations (face-to-face interactions between individuals of different ethno-cultural background) individuals are influenced by the process of selective permeability, regardless of ethnic majority/minority status. *Selective permeability*, a term borrowed from biology, is the process through which the individual allows certain experiences to become part of one's self or not (DeVos, 1990). This process selectively permits an ethnic contact experience to be internalized as part of the individual's ethnic identity. Once the experience penetrates, it remains in the background until another ethnic contact situation occurs which causes it to become present again. It is the recurrence and intensity of the ethnic contact experience (extremely positive or negative), that causes it to be integrated as part of the ethnic identity.

Ethnic-specific minority models. Contrary to the general minority identity model, ethnic-specific models support the perspective that different ethnic groups conform to different racial/ethnic identity development models (i.e., Cross, 1971; Poston, 1990; Rowe et al., 1994). Among the ethnic-specific models that apply to monocultural minority individuals, the most widely used frameworks for the development of ethnic identity in ethnic minority individuals come from the models on psychological nigrescence (Cross, 1971, 1980; Thomas & Thomas, 1971).

Nigrescence "is the process of becoming Black" (Cross, 1978); in the broader sense, "the psychology of becoming Black focuses on the human drama of adult identity transformation within the context of a social movement" (Wallace, 1970). Cross' and Thomas' models attempt to portray the various stages that Black Americans have gone through, seeking a more authentic identity during the late 1960's and early 1970's. These

stage-developmental models, specifically built to explain the experiences of African-American individuals, have received some empirical support (Helms, 1989, 1990a; Parham & Helms, 1985a, 1985b; Parham & Williams, 1993) and have been used as a framework to describe and study the development of ethnic identity in other monoethnic minority groups.

Cross' model (1971) consists of five stages that African-American individuals go through in order to develop a healthy and authentic racial identity. These stages are described as: (1) Pre-encounter, (2) Encounter, (3) Immersion-Emersion, (4) Internalization, and (5) Internalization-commitment. The first stage, *Pre-encounter*, describes the "old" identity and frame of reference to be changed. In this stage, the individual's world view is dominated by Euro-American determinants and values; the Black individual thinks, acts, and behaves in a manner that degrades Blackness. This stage can be summarized as "White is right; Blacks are deficient" (Penn, 1993).

In the *Encounter* stage, the individual's Eurocentric thinking is upset by the experience of racial prejudice. This second stage "deracinates" and dislodges the individual from the old world view, making him or her vulnerable to a new self-identity interpretation and condition. After experiencing the encounter and beginning to reinterpret the "old" views, the individual "cautiously and fearfully tries to validate his [her] new perceptions" (Cross, 1978, p. 17). When the person acquires enough information and receives sufficient social support to conclude that the "old" identity and world views are inappropriate and that the "new" identity is highly attractive she or he begins a "frantic, determined, obsessive, extremely motivated search for Black identity" (p.17). At the end of the encounter stage, the individual is not Black yet, but the decision

of becoming Black has been made. This leads to an *Immersion* into Black culture and a rejection of Whites.

The *Immersion-emersion* stage encompasses "the vortex of psychological metamorphosis" (p. 17); this stage is further divided into two phases. Cross describes the first phase of this stage as a period of transition, in which the struggle to destroy all vestiges of the "old" perspective and the intense concern to clarify the personal implications of the "new" frame of reference occur simultaneously. The individual's level of "Blackness" is high, but the new identity has been only minimally internalized. The period of emergent identity is manifested in the construction of the correct ideology or worldview. During this stage, there is a glorification of African heritage, unrealistic expectations regarding the efficacy of Black Power, and the tendency to withdraw from interactions with other ethnic groups, especially White people and culture, while simultaneously attempting to connect with African Americans, deifying Black people and culture.

The second phase of the immersion-emersion stage is characterized by an "emergence from the reactionary, 'either-or' and racist aspects of the immersion experience" (p. 19). The individual's intense emotions begin to level off; affective and cognitive openness replaces the previous psychological defensiveness. The strengths and weaknesses of Blackness are typically sorted out during this stage, allowing the individual to be more critical in his or her analysis. According to Cross, the most difficult period of nigrescence comes to an end, as the individual begins to feel more self-control.

Internalization signals the resolution of conflict between the old and new worldviews, which is evident as the tension, emotionality, and defensiveness are replaced by a calm, secure demeanor. Individuals achieve a sense of security and self-confidence with their Blackness. This stage is also characterized by psychological openness, ideological flexibility, and a general decline in the strong anti-White feelings previously held. While still using Blacks as a primary reference group, individuals moves toward a more pluralistic, non-racist perspective; they do so from a position of strength rather than of weakness (Cross, 1978).

Biracial models. In the past, identity development models that might be applied to biracial individuals have focused on African-American individuals (Cross, 1971; Parham & Helms, 1985; Thomas & Thomas, 1971), general minority identity development (Morten & Atkinson, 1983), and marginal models of biracial identity development (Gibbs, 1987; Stonequist, 1937). Adapting and expanding the first two types of models (previously described) to explain the formation of ethnic identity in biracial individuals seems to be inadequate. Following is a description of the third type of model (marginal) and its apparent shortcomings; new proposed models specifically addressing this population are also described.

Stonequist (1937) introduced the first model of biracial identity development, "The Marginal Person Model". Marginality models suggest that mixed ethnic heritage serves to exacerbate problems associated with the normal process of identity development by creating uncertainty and ambiguity in individual identification with parents, group identification with peers, and social identification with a specific ethnic or racial group (Stonequist, 1937; Gibbs, 1987); thus, they are considered "deficit" models.

There are several limitations inherent in applying the African-American, general minority, and marginal (deficit) models to the ethnic identity development of biracial individuals. First, these models imply that individuals might choose one group's culture and values over another, at different developmental stages. Second, the African-American and general minority development models suggest that in order to develop a healthy ethnic identity individuals first reject their minority identity and culture, and then the dominant culture. Biracial individuals may come from both of these cultures, complicating the issue of which culture, if any, is rejected and at which developmental stage (Poston, 1990). In addition, when biracial individuals belong to two minority cultures (i.e., Japanese-Black), do they reject both cultures, the dominant, or all three? (Hall, 1980; McRoy & Freeman, 1986).

Third, and more relevant to CH, these models do not allow for the integration of several group identities. Self-fulfillment, according to Cross (1971), Morten & Atkinson (1983), and Gibbs (1987), is not based on integrating different racial/ethnic identity values; it does not include recognizing multiple ethnic identities. Fourth, all of these models require some acceptance into the minority culture of origin. Many biracial people do not experience acceptance by their parents' culture, whether minority or dominant (Poston, 1990). Biracial individuals often experience higher rates of victimization by both their parents' culture and other groups than monocultural minority people do (Gibbs, 1987).

Given the shortcomings of these models when applied to biracial individuals, Poston (1990) proposed a new model of identity development specifically addressing their dual ethnicity. Poston's biracial identity development model emphasizes the

importance of addressing specific areas such as personal identity, choice of group categorization, enmeshment/denial, appreciation, and integration when dealing with biracial individuals, since they differ from monocultural minorities.

The *Personal Identity* stage refers to an early developmental period (although it is unclear how early) in which ethnic group membership is just becoming salient for the child. Initially, children will tend to have a sense of self that is independent of their ethnic background; however, this does not mean that they are unaware of their race and ethnicity (Ponterotto, 1989; Poston, 1990). This model, in accordance with Rotheram & Phinney (1987), states than young children's understanding of themselves is idiosyncratic and inconsistent, sometimes showing no awareness of race/ethnicity. Children at this stage have not yet developed a reference group orientation, so their ethnic identity is primarily based on personal identity factors such as self-esteem, self-worth, and interpersonal competence that they learn and develop in the family.

The second stage is the *Choice of Group Categorization*, in which individuals feel pressured to choose an ethnic identity, usually of one ethnic group. This can be a time of crisis and alienation, according to Poston (1990). As research has pointed out, many biracial individuals believe that society exerts a pressure on them to make a specific racial/ethnic choice in order to participate or belong to peer, family, and/or social groups (Hall, 1980). Hall (1980) noted that biracial individuals have two choices at this point: to choose a multicultural identity, emphasizing the racial heritage of both parents or to choose one parent's culture or ethnic heritage over the other.

According to Hall's (1980) research, there are several factors that are important in making this choice. The most salient factors include status, social support, and personal

characteristics. Status factors refer to the social status of the parents' ethnic group, demographics of home neighborhood (i.e., ethnicity of neighborhood and parental peers), and ethnicity and influence of peer group. Social support factors are parental style and influence, family acceptance, and participation in cultures of various groups. Personal factors include physical appearance, knowledge of language other than English, cultural knowledge, age, and personality differences. According to Poston (1990), it might be unusual for an individual at this stage to choose a multiethnic identity, since this requires knowledge of different cultures and a level of cognitive development beyond that which is characteristic of this age group.

The *Enmeshment/Denial* stage is characterized by confusion and guilt at having to choose one identity that is not fully representative of the individual's background. In addition, individuals at this stage often experience feelings of guilt, self-hatred, and lack of acceptance by one or more groups (Poston, 1990). Sebring (1985) noted that when a multiethnic child is unable to identify with both parents, the child experiences feelings of disloyalty and severe guilt for rejecting one parent's ethnicity or culture. For example, a biracial adolescent may be ashamed and scared to have friends meet his or her parents whose ethnic background is different from most others in the neighborhood or school; the adolescent may also experience guilt or anger about feeling this way (Poston, 1990). In order to move on to the next stage the children or adolescents must resolve their feelings of anger, shame, self-hatred, and guilt, and learn to appreciate both parents' cultures. Parental and community support can be important factors in helping the individual resolve this dilemma (Sebring, 1985).

During the fourth stage, *Appreciation*, individuals begin to appreciate their multiple identity and broaden their ethnic reference group. They might begin to learn about their racial/ethnic heritage and cultures, but they still have the tendency to identify primarily with one group.

Individuals in the final stage, described by Poston (1990) as the *Integration* stage, tend to recognize and value all of their ethnic identities. At this level, individuals develop a secure, integrated identity, and experience "wholeness and integration".

This model is similar to the previously described models in that it has a lifespan focus. However, it differs from the monocultural and general models in that it underscores the uniqueness of biracial/biethnic identity development. It also points out the individual's need to value and integrate multiple cultures, specifying the social, personal, and status factors which are important in this process. Poston's (1990) model delineates the difficulties in identity development that are unique to biethnic individuals, emphasizing that the developmental process, for most individuals, has a healthy resolution.

Multicultural models. Multiethnic identity development models and the specific difficulties experienced by multicultural individuals have not been found throughout the literature. Poston's (1990) model discusses the integration of multiple cultures and the development of a multiethnic identity, however, he is specifically addressing biracial populations. Likewise, Phinney and Alipuria's (1996) research do not distinguish between biethnic and multiethnic individuals in their analysis. The present study proposes that multiethnic individuals will experience more difficulties than those who have a biethnic background.

White racial identity model. Another ethnic-specific model that has been discussed is the White racial identity development (WRID) model. Research on existing models of racial identity development in White Americans is controversial and the models have been described as deficient, in terms of being based on the oppression-adaptive models of ethnic minority identity development (Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994). The authors argue that conceptualizing the development of White racial identity as a process parallel to that of ethnic minority identity is inaccurate, challenging WRID models' assumption that racial/ethnic identity develops only in response to an oppressive dominant society. They also contend that a major problem with existing WRID models is the conceptualization of ethnic identity as a developmental stage model, stating that empirical evaluation has not been supportive. The authors claim that although racial attitudes (toward one's own and other ethnic groups) change over time there is no evidence that this process is developmental. In addition, current models of WRID focus primarily on racial attitudes toward ethnic minorities, not on White identity attitudes (Rowe et al., 1994).

Rowe et al. propose an alternative explanation of the role of racially oriented attitudes, outlining the White racial consciousness construct. White racial consciousness has been defined as the individual's awareness of being White and the implications it may have for those who do not share the White group membership. For some individuals, according to Rowe et al., this consciousness might be a clear and important part of their sense of identity. For others, however, it might be vague and of little concern on how they construe their life experiences. Several types of White racial consciousness have been proposed by Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson (1994). These are divided into achieved

racial consciousness (dominative, conflictive, reactive, and integrative types) and unachieved racial consciousness (avoidant, dependent, and dissonant types). They state that although most people hold some racial attitudes that are representative of more than one type, it would seem that contradictory attitudes would not coexist for long.

It is theorized by the authors of the WRID that White individuals move between and across the different types of racial consciousness (Rowe et al., 1994). Dissonance between previously held attitudes and new attitudes resulting from some significant life event is considered the key element for moving from one type of racial consciousness to another. To move from the unachieved status to any of the achieved status types, the individual must first experience conflict and develop attitudes consistent with the dissonant type.

Conflicting Assumptions Underlying Current Ethnic Models

As previously described, current racial/ethnic identity theories and models have been based on different assumptions, according to various dimensions that the authors consider essential to explain identity development. Some of the assumptions upon which these frameworks are built include majority vs. minority status (including racial oppression and acculturation), generalizability of ethnic identity models to all ethnic groups, ethnic identity as a stage vs. non-stage developmental process, and the importance of developing an ethnic identity. In some models, two or more dimensions overlap and build on each other, in other cases they contradict and exclude one another. The assumptions and dimensions of these models, as well as the major problems and controversies among theorists and across models, will be reviewed next.

It appears that the most crucial and basic problem that needs to be addressed is the current categorization and description of the main ethnic groups living in the United States, and how each of these groups is affected by their majority/minority status. It has been observed that majority/minority status affects all ethnic groups, according to the group's history and experiences (Rowe et al., 1994; Smith, 1991). However, as described above, ethnic minority groups seem to share some common characteristics such as submission to authority, emphasis on preserving family harmony, and placing the interests and needs of the group over the individuals, which could be partly attributed to racial discrimination and oppression from the dominant culture.

Other theoretical conflicts arise from attempts to group individuals according to their ethnic background as opposed to their culture or social status. Immigrant minorities are likely to have experienced an ethnic majority status in their native country; shifts from majority to minority status may have different consequences than never having experienced being part of the dominant culture. Likewise, White Americans who experience cross-cultural moves may experience a minority status in the country to which they move. How this experience will affect the individual is probably shaped by the culture of origin, the new culture, and the differences between these two.

Several theorists have asserted that the primary focus of study regarding ethnic identity has been on Cross' (1971, 1980), Thomas (1971), and Helms' (1984) models. These stage-developmental models deal with issues of racial oppression and African Americans' psychological responses to it. Furthermore, these models emphasize the importance for African-Americans to develop a healthy "Black identity", which includes belonging to and feeling proud of their own ethnic group. Attempts have been made by

Helms (1989) to adapt these models so they would be applicable to other ethnicities; however, research has not supported this generalization to other ethnic minority groups (Poston, 1990). Furthermore, Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson (1994) assert that White racial identity development does not parallel that of minorities.

In disagreement with Cross, Thomas, and Helms' views, other theorists advocate the incorporation of a "universal human identity" (Penn, Gaines, & Phillips, 1993). Penn et al. essentially take the position that healthy identity and personality development for African people must transcend the "limited" and dysfunctional boundaries of racial and cultural identity. Issues raised by Penn et al. (1993) have been addressed and criticized by Helms (1993) and Parham (1993); they review Penn's study in the light of the stage-developmental models originally proposed by Cross (1971) and Thomas (1971).

Helms (1993) draws from her own model (Helms, 1984, 1990a) to argue that Penn et al. are misguided in their attempts to use White people's racial experiences worldwide to explain the racial adjustment issues of Black people in the US and elsewhere in the world. She concludes that "Penn et al. either do not understand the perspective that Cross and Thomas represent or are disregarding it for some inexplicable reason of their own" (p. 322). Helms contends that it is "highly unlikely" that Black people have ever participated in the Nazi movement or that many Black children define themselves in terms of their "blond hair". Racial/ethnic constructs, according to Helms, "do not have universal meanings", and the implications of belonging to one group rather than another have different meanings once the ethnical/racial boundaries are crossed. Ethnic group membership will determine the individual’s majority/minority status, how

others perceive and relate to him or her, and whether she or he will be oppressed and/or discriminated based on ethnicity.

Parham (1993), on the other hand, contends that Penn et al.'s citation of Cross and Thomas models "in conjunction with the notion of 'decentering' is a bit too ambitious" (p. 337). Penn et al. cite the nigrescence models (Cross, 1971; Thomas & Thomas, 1971) to substantiate how arrival at the later stages of each model leads to a more universal conception of people and reality, stimulates a decline in the significance of race, and compels the individual to ultimately abandon own-group preferences. Parham argues that although the Cross and Thomas models provide for a more universally oriented perspective at the internalization (Cross) and transcendental (Thomas) stages, it may be inaccurate to assume that acceptance of other ethnic groups is synonymous with a decline in the significance of one's own race. Cross (1978) and others (Parham, 1989; Parham & Helms, 1981, 1985a) assert that internalized individuals are able to negotiate relationships with persons from other ethnic groups, but they do so from a position of positive self-affirmation and cultural pride in wanting to be recognized, respected, and appreciated for their ethnicity and culture (Parham, 1993).

From another perspective, Kambon and Hopkins (1993) have also challenged Penn et al. (1993), contending that there are many problems and weaknesses in the basic assumptions that appear to be driving this universal perspective. Penn's model is labelled as an "integrationist/assimilationist cultural misoriented model" (Kambon & Hopkins, 1993). Penn et al.'s universal perspective also conflicts with Cheung's (1991) claims that events in North America during the last several decades do not support the predictions that ethnicity will decline in importance, eventually disappearing. Cheung presents

arguments against this and similar *"disappearance theories of ethnicity"* (the assimilation, amalgamation, and industrialization perspectives), providing several reasons for the persistence and importance of ethnicity in modern society.

Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson (1994) also argue that Helms' model is "unduly limiting and therefore a weakness". However, they depart from Penn's (1993) argument in that Rowe et al. do not advocate a universalistic view, but rather a different model for the development of White racial identity. Rowe et al. (1994) dispute the generalizability of Helms' model, arguing that "[it] is cast exclusively in White-Black terms", and that Helms considers White racial identity as reflecting only attitudes toward Blacks and not other non-White minorities. Furthermore, claims have been made that generalization of Whites' racial attitudes toward African Americans to attitudes toward all racial/ethnic minority groups are unsupported (Sodowsky, Seaberry, Gorgi, Lai, & Baliga, 1991).

The within-group vs. between-group variations has also been a controversial dimension; this has been addressed by theorists such as Carter (1991) and Gushue (1993). They claim that most efforts to describe and understand the effects of culture within the family have focused on between- rather than within-group differences. They propose comprehensive conceptual models that emphasize the importance of cultural variation within families. Gushue (1993) proposes an extension of Helms' (1984, 1990) Black and White interaction model to be used as a starting point for organizing and understanding cultural-identity data from a perspective that places the individual within a family structure; he indicates that Helms's model might enrich the current way of viewing families and culture, and the implications and consequences of racially mixed families.

Racial identity conceptualization should provide within-group variability, in order to increase precision of findings for researchers (Atkinson, 1983). Carter (1991) has also expressed concern about the "comparative and atheoretical" nature of most research regarding ethnicity and psychological functioning in African Americans. He argues that between-group comparisons make the implicit assumption that all African Americans have the same psychological makeup or interpret their experience in similar ways; within-group studies would override this assumption.

Another question that has been raised by the fast growing literature is whether or not ethnic identity is a stage developmental process. Although this theoretical aspect of conceptualizing ethnic identity seems to be in somewhat more agreement than other dimensions, empirical results are mixed and controversies still exist. Rowe et al. (1994) contend that the stage developmental model does not apply to White racial identity; they indicate that the linearity and directionality of a developmental model is imposed, arbitrary, and lacks empirical support. Furthermore, it has been argued that "[if] too many exceptions are explainable" by Helms' (1989) and Parham's (1989) models, covering forward, backward, or no progression across stages, then, the utility of conceptualizing the ethnic identity process as a developmental stagewise progression "must be questioned" (Rowe et al., 1994).

Biracial models have also encountered several conflicts. Stonequist (1937) and Gibbs (1987) stated that dual racial identity can pose dilemmas for adolescents in developing a cohesive, well-integrated self-concept. However, according to Poston (1990), it is possible for biracial persons to exhibit characteristics of both cultures without the conflict required by the marginality models. This view is consistent with Herman's

(1970) and Hall's (1980) findings that many research participants thought that their biracial identity was an asset; they saw themselves as experiencing a multicultural rather than marginal identity. However, neither Herman nor Hall make a distinction between "personal identity" and "ethnic identity", or whether a clearly defined ethnic identity is an essential component of a healthy personal identity. These questions and dilemmas will be discussed later within the different levels of the systems model of communication, and in the context of Marcia's ego identity status.

Despite the extensive literature covering racial/ethnic identity, its development from childhood, adolescence, and adulthood perspectives, and its short- and long-term effects on the individual at every developmental stage, there is scarce reference to racial identity development in ethnically mixed individuals when this mix comprises more than two different cultures; these are individuals who are usually excluded from research studies due to their lack of ethnic group membership (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). Given the consequences of having positive vs. negative ethnic self-identity in several aspects of psychological, emotional, and physical well-being, throughout the lifespan it seems important to address the question of "What happens when an individual cannot identify with any existing ethnic group, therefore lacking an ethnic identity?"; this does not include individuals who are simply unaware of their ethnic identity, but those who are aware of their lack of it.

However, for the most part, the literature on ethnic/racial identity development seems to focus on specific minority groups or on individuals who comprise the dominant culture (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1990b; Rowe et al., 1994; Sabnani, Ponterotto, and Borodovski, 1991). With the exception of Phinney (1992) who included mixed

background individuals in her study (10% of the total sample), studies on ethnic issues have concentrated mainly on African Americans (Brookins, 1996; Cross, 1978; Marshall, 1995; Parham & Austin, 1994; Plummer, 1995; Spencer, 1987; Whaley, 1995), Latinos (Ruiz, 1990), and Asian-Americans (Chen, 1989; Minoura, 1992; Sue, 1989). Some research has been conducted on the ethnic identity development of biracial children such as Mexican-Americans (Knight et al., 1993; Poston, 1990; Quintana, 1994), Black-Canadians (Aboud & Doyle, 1995), Greek-Canadians (Stalikas & Gavaki, 1995), Black-White (Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson, Harris, 1993), and Latino-White (Herring, 1995) racially mixed children. Other conceptualizations and models stem from studying racial/ethnic groups in general (Ford, 1987; Sue & Sue, 1990), minority/oppressed groups in general (Highlen et al., 1988; Myers et al., 1991), and members of multiple minority groups (Reynolds & Pope, 1991), although the latter refers to individuals who maintain a dual minority status (i.e., African-American homosexuals, female ethnic minority, etc.) as opposed to individuals with multiple ethnic backgrounds.

All of these stage-developmental models are built on the assumption that individuals have freedom of movement across and between these stages, according to their age, ethnic group membership, and the process through which the child is socialized. These models presume that the individual has or belongs to a specific cultural group which is distinctly different from other ethnic groups, based on majority/minority status and the developmental implications of being a member of that particular ethnic group. In these developmental models awareness and understanding of the self in terms of ethnic/culture affiliation can be achieved. The present study proposes that multiracial/multiethnic individuals' developmental experiences are different from those of

monoethnic minority or dominant culture individuals. Lack of ethnic group membership is likely to have developmental effects and consequences that are unique to the ethnically mixed individual, including perhaps the development of cultural homelessness.

Theoretical Frameworks for This Study

Systems Model of Communication

In 1951, Ruesch and Bateson proposed a social systems model which organizes and describes the processes of communication, according to the perceptions of each interacting individual. According to the authors, "in the study of human communication, it is difficult if not impossible to distinguish between assumed and perceived reality" (p. 273), therefore, the only way in which people can assess and understand reality is by comparing one's views with the views of others. Discrepancies and agreements in these perceptions allow individuals to make inferences about their own physical and psychological perceived reality in relationship to others; thus, communicating and interacting with others are dependent on the context within which these occur. Ruesch and Bateson (1951) state that although all the levels are present in any communication, we can only have one focus at any given time depending upon whether we focus on a single individual or on the larger social structure to which this individual belongs. Ruesch and Bateson's (1951) systems model distinguishes four levels at which communication may occur, each level affecting the individual's perceptions and interactions differently. The levels at which these processes or functions can be observed are described as the individual, interpersonal, group, and cultural levels of communication. Communication, according to the authors, is a dynamic process in which rapid changes occur between levels and functions.

The levels of the systems model of communication are presented in Figure 4, Appendix A, with a brief description of the interacting individuals and group(s) at each level and the dimensions determining the level at which the interaction occurs; an individual "A" is portrayed in the different contexts within which she or he may interact. Figure 5, Appendix A provides a top-down view of the systems model levels and how these are interelated with and/or influence each other. Conflicts and contradictions at each level are likely to have a different impact upon the individual's physiological, psychological, and cognitive development, depending on whether these occur within, between, or across levels. Frequency and severity of the disruption are also likely to have an impact on the ensuing consequences that may stem from these experiences. The systems model levels are described next.

Individual level. According to the systems model of communication (Ruesch & Bateson, 1951), the individual or intra-personal level is concerned with the internal characteristics of a particular individual; his or her physiological, psychological, cognitive, and behavioral states and traits. At this level, the focus is limited by the self and the various functions of communication are found within the self. Visible physical characteristics, such as race, and the person's attitudes and feelings toward self regarding these features are included in this level. The individual's appearance is likely to determine how the individual is treated and/or perceived by others upon initial contact. Also, expectations and stereotypes may depend on these visible characteristics, and may influence significantly racial/ethnic identity development. The individual's psychological makeup, which includes personality, self-identity, self-concept, beliefs, values, attitudes toward self and others, etc., affect and are affected by all other levels of the system

(interpersonal, group, and cultural). Rejections experienced at this level due to specific unchangeable traits may lead to internalization of shame and low self-esteem.

Face-to-Face level. At the interpersonal or face-to-face level the interaction occurs between two people or a small group of people, such as the nuclear family. At this level, each interacting person has their own views of the situation and context within the interaction is occurring. In addition, each individual brings to the interaction their own perceptions regarding the views of the other participant(s). The self- and others-perceptions are likely to be affected by each individual's experiences and expectations of what interpersonal relationships mean. In addition, the interaction and communication will be guided by the position of power each participant has relative to one another (i.e., parent-child, peers, friends, boss-employee, etc.).

Institutional level. This level describes how the individual communicates, behaves, and interacts with others within the institutional context (i.e., school, church, work place, etc.). It may also describe how a group of people (i.e., family) relates to other groups (i.e., the interaction between two families who belong to the same church) or two institutions in relationship with one another (i.e., two different schools). These between-group interactions are affected by each group's position of power relative to the other and their experience or perception of the other group. In addition, each individual brings to these interactions his or her own views and values of what it means to be a member of his or her group and how the members of the other group(s) are perceived and valued. At this level, institutional and social norms, roles, and group stereotypes are established.

Cultural level. Culture may be described as the common values, beliefs, and norms shared by members of a group; it may or may not be based on ethnicity. Other dimensions on which a culture may be formed are religion, sexual orientation, education, profession, or social class. At the cultural level, social status and gender roles are defined. Group membership, and the requisites and expectations based on membership are also determined at this level. Interactions here refer to how individuals relate to their own group based on a common culture, and how groups from different cultures relate to one another. Attitudes and feelings toward the out-groups are included at this level. In addition, the expectations, norms, values, and interactions at this level depend on whether individuals belongs to a single or multiple cultural group(s) and whether they are accepted as a member of any group.

Marcia's Ego Identity Status Model

Identity development has been described as "that which is governed, controlled, and constrained by the processes of cognitive development" (Rosenberg, 1986, p. 108). According to Phinney (1989), Rotheram-Borus (1989), and Streitmatter (1988) once the adolescent starts the identity exploration process ethnic identity development seems to operate similarly to Marcia's (1981) ego identity status model; it has also been paralleled to Loevinger's ego development model (Looney, 1988). These two models have been adapted in terms of the developmental disruptions that may occur during the ethnic-identity formation process in multicultural individuals. This is explained in the next section, following a description of the developmental process of personal and ethnic identity, in general.

The Marcia model states that adolescents move through four *ego identity statuses*, based on the assumption that identity development requires opportunities to explore and understand different identity options, and potential areas of commitment. The adolescent struggles between and across these statuses depending, basically, on whether or not they encounter these opportunities, and whether or not they make a commitment to their identity ideals; these are presented in Figure 6, Appendix A.

Description of Marcia's stages. Adolescents with a *diffused ego identity status* have not yet encountered opportunities to explore and struggle through their identity options; neither have they made any commitments to particular roles within the ideal identity. The diffused adolescent remains uninvolved in the identity search process; failure to move beyond this status is likely to result in developmental stagnation, with the consequential lack of identity resolution. A *foreclosed identity status* adolescent has prematurely made a commitment to a particular role, based largely on the values and perspectives of the parents or other authority figure, without struggling through the process or exploring his or her options. Although these adolescents make a firm commitment to an identity, the foreclosed status seems to be maladaptive, because it does not reflect the individual's own perspective of the ideal self-identity. An adolescent in the *moratorium identity status* reveals someone who is struggling with his or her own identity search process, in an effort to make commitments to identity ideals; however, commitment has not yet been made. This status is considered to be normative in the adolescent's developmental process, but failure to move toward identity resolution is maladaptive. Finally, an individual who has reached the ideal status of an *achieved ego identity status* has developed an identity commitment, after struggling, exploring, and

experimenting successfully with different roles and ideologies, and discovering which ones represent them best.

Marcia's ego identity and ethnic identity development. At least two studies have examined the applicability of this model to the formation of ethnic identity. Phinney (1989), using interviews and a questionnaire measure of ego identity, assessed the ethnic identity of 91 adolescents; her sample included African-, Asian-, and Hispanic-American, and White students. The study, although specifically focused on ethnicity, was conceptually structured to fit into the Marcia (1981) ego identity status model. Phinney's findings supported three of the four identity statuses proposed by Marcia. Adolescents that expressed little or no desire to explore their ethnic identity, and/or had already acquired their identity status from others without significant examination of their alternatives, were found to be in a combined diffused/foreclosed identity status. Considerable overlap was found between the responses that would classify an individual in either the diffused or the foreclosed identity, with very few negative attitudes toward their own group. Phinney suggested that perhaps there is only one status associated with a lack of ethnic identity exploration.

Self and Ethnic Identity Development

The concept of identity development has been important in developmental perspectives, since Erikson (1950, 1963) stressed that the major task of adolescence was to establish an independent identity. According to Erikson (1963), the most important tasks during adolescence are to (1) establish a personal identity, (2) establish autonomy and independence, and (3) relate to same- and other-gender peers. Other developmental theorists (Marcia, 1987; Waterman, 1985) agree with the view that one of the primary

tasks of adolescents is the search for and development of their own identity, and it must be viewed both as a process and an outcome (Waterman, 1985). Several theorists have proposed that it seems to be crucial to include racial/ethnic identity as a component of self-concept (Cross, 1985; McCombs, 1985, Rotheram & Phinney, 1987; Simpson & Yinger, 1985; Spencer, 1988; Wright, 1985). Racial identity is believed to be inseparable from core self-identity in minority adolescents (Gibson, 1993).

Studies addressing the issue of personal self-identity development have concluded that, generally, there is a positive correlation between children's emotional health and the degree to which race is included in their self-identity. Racial/ethnic identity awareness, which leads to the sense of group-inclusion, seems to be a crucial aspect of childhood development (Jagers & Mock, 1993; Marshall, 1995; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990; Tokar & Swanson, 1991; Whaley, 1992). Racial identity research has also suggested that ethnicity may be critical to a person's security and sense of identity in the later stages of life. Ethnicity, according to Giordano (1992), is a major determinant of values, attitudes, perceptions, needs, modes of expression, behavior, and industry. This study indicates that ethnocultural features are carried into the second, third, and even fourth generations and are crucial to the emotional adjustment of aged persons.

Social & Ethnic Labels

An individual's ethnic self-label is part of his or her ethnic identity; it refers to the individual's chosen ethnic classification and may vary according to the situation. Ethnic self-label is viewed as an important indicator of multiethnic adolescents' ethnic identity (Gibbs & Hines, 1992; Hall, 1992b; Kerwin et al., 1993; Lopez & Padilla, 1982).

Theoretically, ethnically mixed individuals should be able to use the ethnic self-label which they feel represents them best, however, there are many social, political, and legal constraints on the choice of ethnic self-label (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). For example, the existence of a single Black ancestor once qualified as evidence that the individual was Black, socially and legally (Williamson, 1980). Choice of self-label is also influenced by physical appearance and possibly by the social context. Kich (1992) described a developmental process in which the use of a biracial self-label increased as individuals became more comfortable with and accepting of their biracial identity. Thus, multiethnic individuals who describe themselves as "mixed" might be expected to have a more developed multiethnic identity than those who use a monoethnic label (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996).

However, multiethnic individuals may find it more difficult to find a self-label which describes them accurately or their chosen ethnic self-label may not be accepted by others. In addition, if the ethnic self-label constantly changes depending on the situation it may create confusion and/or the feeling of having multiple ethnic self-labels; this may constitute a risk factor for the development of cultural homelessness. Moreover, the ability for self-labelling may require a certain level of cognitive complexity; young children typically lack the capacity for self-labelling.

Grounded in contemporary cognitive and developmental psychology, Ghee (1990) explored several issues related to self-definition in terms of ethnic-identity self-labeling, comparing and evaluating self-labels in reference to contemporary psychological theories on self-identity and mental health. According to him, an ethnic self-label that does not adequately contribute to a positive self-concept cannot provide the

self with a necessary reference point for self-actualization; it has no legitimate anthropologic or existential roots on which the self-concept can stand. Ghee (1990) stated that individuals whose racial identity incorporates the "wrong" self-definition will have an unstable self-concept at the core of their personality or its development.

Ethnic/Racial Identity Development

In the United States, race and ethnicity can have a profound impact on psychological development throughout the lifespan (Simpson & Yinger, 1985). Therefore, it seems crucial to include racial/ethnic identity as a component of self-concept. Parallel to Marcia's (1981) concept of ego identity development, Brookins (1996) states that in order to develop a functional self-concept and a positive self-evaluation, adolescents need to explore, struggle, and successfully negotiate their ethnic/racial identity.

As previously described, ethnicity has been found to be an important component of self-definition or self-concept throughout the lifespan. Development of an ethnic identity, regardless of one's ethnicity, is an essential human need; it provides the individual with a sense of belonging and of historical continuity based on a common culture (Smith, 1991). Other theorists argue that achievement of an identity which includes race and ethnicity seems to be even more critical for ethnic minority youth (Brookins, 1996; Cross, 1985; McCombs, 1985, Rotheram & Phinney, 1987; Spencer, 1988; Wright, 1985).

Ethnic identity development has been defined as "the process of coming to terms with one's ethnic-racial membership group as a salient reference group", and is a learned aspect of an individual's overall personality development (Smith, 1989). Several developmental models propose that ethnic identity formation is a lifelong process, beginning in childhood and continuing throughout the individual's oldest years; it is seen by these models as a process of ethnic differentiation, acceptance, and integration

(Brookins, 1996; Goodman, 1964; Phinney & Rotheram 1987; Simpson & Yinger, 1985; Smith, 1991; Waterman, 1985).

According to Goodman (1964), children move from a state of being unaware of ethnic differences to becoming aware of their own and others' ethnicity, as well as the differences between them. The child also moves from non-ethnic to ethnic self-identification, and from partial ethnic identification to identity formation (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). A healthy identity development leads to commitments in those areas which are the most salient for the individual; conversely, failure to establish identity commitments is likely to have negative consequences, both psychologically and socially (Brookins, 1996; Waterman, 1985).

Many researchers and theorists propose that ethnic identity is stage-developmental and affects individuals' self-definition differently at different ages, suggesting a high correlation between age and the mode of definition of their ethnic identity (Aboud & Doyle, 1995; Brookins, 1996; Dor-Shav, 1990; Goodman, 1964). Furthermore, perception of racial differences, as well as reconciliation with these differences, were found to increase with age; constancy and perceptions of within- and between-race differences were associated with ethnic attitudes (Aboud & Doyle, 1995).

Ethnic awareness and self-identification, and the development of ethnic attitudes and behaviors are processes that occur primarily during early childhood, culminating during the pre-adolescent years (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987; Semaj, 1985; Spencer, 1990). The development of ethnic preferences and ethnic consciousness occurs through positive exposure to one’s own group's history and culture. This is only possible after children have developed some cognitive maturity, and they can base the ethnic attitudes

and behaviors on a conscious understanding of the meaning and consequences behind these views. However, given that ethnic consciousness requires fairly sophisticated cognitive skills, it appears unlikely that this would be achieved prior to late adolescence or early adulthood (Adams, 1985).

Individuals who have more than one ethnic background may experience more difficulties developing a healthy ethnic identity. According to Poston (1990), "biracial identity development is a complex and undefined process" (p. 153). Phinney and Alipuria (1996) state that ethnic identity issues faced by people of mixed heritage are similar to those experienced by monoethnic minority groups. However, multiethnic individuals may find it particularly difficult to establish a secure sense of ethnic identification due to the potential conflicts between their parents' cultures (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). As described earlier in the biracial models feelings of guilt, shame, and anger need to be resolved in order to develop an integrated biethnic identity (Poston, 1990). Multiethnic individuals may consciously examine the meaning of their mixed heritage to determine their place in society or they may accept an ascribed position based on their physical appearance or on the group that will accept them (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). Having more choices regarding one's ethnic identity and ethnic reference group can be a source of strength, confusion, or both depending upon the individual and his or her experiences (Gibbs & Hines, 1992; Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson & Harris, 1993).

Ethnic Identity Development in the Context of the Systems Model

Emotional well-being is in great part dependent on the social conditions in which individuals matured as a child. Oppressive conditions (i.e., racism, discrimination,

prejudice) are likely to affect negatively the views held by the individual about him or herself, delimiting the person's ability to fulfill his or her potential (Smith, 1985), regardless of the systems model's level at which this occurs. When individuals or groups are forced to accommodate to an inferior status, for any period of time, some form of psychological internalization takes place (Smith, 1985). Individuals belonging to an oppressed and exploited minority, who are "aware of the dominant cultural ideals but prevented from emulating them, are apt to fuse the negative images held up to them" by the dominant majority (Erikson, 1966; p.237). However, ethnic minorities differ in the degree and manner in which they internalize their psychological accommodation to the majority group (Smith, 1991).

A large part of the minority child's ethnic identity development entails dealing with the sense of initial rejection of one's group. The ethnic self moves from an early stage of unawareness and lack of differentiation to one of ethnic awareness (individual level), ethnic self-identification (Face-to-Face and institutional level), and increasing ethnic differentiation, based on contact situations (cultural level) (Smith, 1991).

While the ethnic identity of the dominant culture individual is continually validated and reinforced in a positive manner, by both the membership group and the structure of the society's institutions, this is typically not the case for most ethnic minorities. Positive reinforcement allows the majority individual to focus on developmental aspects other than ethnicity (Smith, 1991). According to Brookins (1996) and Smith (1991) children usually receive positive ethnic information from their family, friends, and community; much of the negative affect attributed to the individual's minority status is received through interactions with individuals and institutions within

the larger macrosocial environment (e.g., schools, government, media, etc.) However, as proposed by the present study, individuals who have a mixed race/ethnic background may be rejected by some or all family members, on the basis of being ethnically different; they may be considered as a minority within the family (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999).

Majority/minority situations ultimately result in status inequality; ethnic identity development is regulated by the individual's majority/minority status and the resultant power associated with it (Smith, 1991). Majority status is defined primarily in terms of a group's superior numerical representation with a given society; however, it may also be defined on the basis of a group's position of power within a society. For example, women outnumber men in the United States of America, but despite their numerical superiority, they lack the power base of men. Thus, majority status is inevitably defined in terms of individuals' power within a given society, regardless of their group's numerical representation. In America, we use race and ethnicity to define individuals' and groups' power status within the societal structure (Smith, 1991).

Individual level. Minority children are confronted with their ethnicity at an earlier age, compared to children in a majority status; in addition, they are more consistently aware of ethnic differences (Goodman, 1964). White American children usually express more favorable attitudes toward their own group (Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1980), while for Black children in the United States the opposite is true. Furthermore, ethnicity is a superordinate identity that puts constraints on the permissible range and type of roles/statuses the individual can assume, and the patterns she or he may select for certain behaviors (Barth, 1969; Smith, 1985).

Members of minority groups often struggle with multiple realities; minority and majority group interpretations of what it means to be a member of each group differ and, sometimes, they contradict each other. Individuals experience ethnic identity as *ego syntonic* when the self-description of ethnic identity is consistent with others' description of their ethnic identity. Conversely, when individuals believe that others have an inaccurate ethnic description of them or do not fit (discontinuity between the individual and face-to-face levels), the individual experiences ethnic identity as *ego dystonic*. Repeated ego-dystonic ethnic identity experiences tend to lead to identity conflict and to eventual maladaptive behavior, if the individual lacks social support or counter-conditioning by his or her ethnic group (Smith, 1991). In addition, individuals who do not fit the description of any existing ethnic group, will chronically experience ego-dystonic situations regarding their ethnic identity; this may lead to feelings of isolation, shame, and perhaps contribute to the development of CH (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999).

Face-to-face level. During childhood, the modeling of ethnic attitudes and behaviors by significant others and the information received from them form the developmental basis for the child's affect and behaviors associated with a particular ethnic group (Brookins, 1996). The process of ethnic identity development is affected by both contact and *boundary-line drawing* situations (Barth, 1969). Included within the inner boundary are the individual's ethnic membership groups; contained in the outer boundary groups are the individual's non-ethnic membership groups. Ethnic identity development is a continual process of boundary-line drawing, in which the individual decides who is included in the inner and outer boundary groups. Ethnic contact situations and experiences, whether positive or negative, cause individuals to broaden, narrow, or

crystalize their boundaries; this is the basic process that directs the individual's ethnic identity development.

According to research, children of parents who address race in their parenting practices appear further along in identity development than other children. Reports of ethnic socialization, which requires awareness of an ethnic identity, were related to the encounter stage of ethnic identity and predicted several personal and academic behaviors. For example, Jagers and Mock (1993) concluded that positive identification with an ethnic group was associated with lower levels of undesirable attitudes and behaviors among African-American sixth graders. A positive ethnic identity has also been related to higher self-esteem and academic achievement in bicultural children (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, 1993) and adolescents (Stalikas & Gavaki, 1995).

Children's reports of a low degree of ethnic socialization predicted lower classroom grades (Marshall, 1995). Furthermore, Knight et al. (1993) explored the role of ethnic family background and ethnic socialization in the development of ethnic identity in bicultural (Mexican-American) children. As predicted by the researchers, socialization indices such as parental education, mothers' cultural orientation and teaching about their culture, ethnic pride, and discrimination functioned as mediators of the influence of ethnic family background on their children's ethnic identity.

Institutional level. In general, ethnic minority studies have frequently pointed to the influence of social structures on the development of ethnic identity. There is a recognized need for social structures that ensure the healthy development of the ethnic component of self-concept (Hare & Hare, 1985; Lee, 1987; Lee & Lindsey, 1985; Oliver, 1989). According to Smith's (1991) theory, ethnic groups with a high degree of

institutional completeness (establishment of own schools, neighborhoods, churches, social clubs, stores) tend to produce individuals who are more resilient to ethnic identity conflicts than are individuals from a less institutionally complete group. Mintz and Schwartz (1964), for example, found that Blacks living in White areas had a higher rate of psychosis than did Blacks in Black areas. Rabkin (1979) found that the smaller the group size of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Whites in a community, the higher their psychiatric hospitalization rate.

Cultural level. Studies have found that individuals who are embedded in their culture tend to be more "ethnically hardy" (Smith, 1991) and resilient in their ethnic identity development than are those who are more marginal with respect to their culture. Cichello (1984) found that adolescents whose parents are embedded in their culture and did not perceive problems with their ethnicity manifested more positive self-image and better resolution of Erikson's developmental stages than did those who were less integrated into their ethnic group. Individuals who are embedded in their own culture may be protected from developing a vulnerable identity, or may be supported and validated when their identity becomes vulnerable (Cross, 1991; Smith, 1991); this parallels Landrine and Klonoff's (1996b) description, purpose, and function of an ethnic enclave. Ethnic enclaves and cultural homes are built at the cultural level and may mediate the consequences of oppression and discrimination (Jenkins & Vivero, 1998).

Each multiethnic-multiracial society develops a social distance scale between and among the various ethnic and racial groups; such a scale is usually based on the mainstream society's cultural values and feelings about particular minority groups. Majority members feel the greatest amount of social distance and impose the strongest

sanctions against those groups which they perceive as being the most unlike them (Smith, 1991).

This position has been supported by research conducted in the area of social distance and ethnicity (Triandis, Davis, & Takezawa, 1965). Triandis et al. studied the effects of information about social distance and an individual's race, occupation, religion, and nationality in Germany, the United States, and Japan; each national group developed independent and standardized scales of social distance. Participants were presented with hypothetical stimulus persons, created from all possible combinations of all levels of the aforementioned cues; they then provided social distance ratings. Through research it was shown that each culture developed their own social distance, which differed significantly from the other two. For example, in Japan the most important cue for determining social distance was occupation and then race; in Germany, occupation and religion; in the United States race was the primary determinant for social distance. Thus, in this country, race clearly served as a superordinate status, and as the most important basis for determining the social distance individuals hold for various groups (Smith, 1991).

Personal vs. cultural level. Although individuals may be better understood in terms of their culture and ethnicity rather than their race, the distinction between ethnically and racially mixed individuals may be useful to understand people who are different at different levels of the systems model. The present study proposes that there are significant differences in the consequences experienced by individuals who not only lack ethnic but also racial group identification. For example, are biracial individuals (i.e., Black-Asian) more rejected and/or discriminated against than biethnic individuals (i.e., Korean-Japanese)? It is hypothesized that biracial/multiracial individuals are rejected at

the individual as well as the cultural level, while biethnic/multiethnic individuals may feel rejected only at the cultural level.

Conceptualized in terms of this model, racial differences occur both at the cultural level, in the form of lack of cultural representation and at the individual level, reflected in physical differences. Interactions, conflicts, and disconnections across cultural groups, and between groups and individuals at the cultural level have a different effect upon the individual than disconnections that occur at the individual level.

Furthermore, it is proposed that there is a significant difference between individuals who do not belong to any cultural group due to having a racially mixed family and those who may be culturally displaced (e.g., immigrants) but have a monocultural/monoracial family. Racially mixed families, with more than one group representation at the cultural level, in addition to the obvious differences at the personal and face-to-face level will probably have a greater effect on the individual's identity and self-esteem, depending on the experienced rejection. When an individual cannot find any group with which to identify, at any level, the likelihood of CH increases. Moreover, this study proposes that lack of group membership due to multiple rejections at the individual level has different and more severe consequences, such as internalized shame and rage, than those which may be brought on by rejections at any other levels.

Development of Cultural Homelessness

Children reared in an ethnically mixed environment (family and/or social), who are not allowed or encouraged to develop a multiethnic identity may be at high risk for becoming culturally homeless. Furthermore, individuals with an ethnically mixed heritage, whose family disregard conflicts and concerns that may arise due to cultural

differences, may have more difficulties developing a healthy multiethnic identity. Families who encourage members to "choose" or self-identify with a single ethnicity may also produce children with more problems accepting and adapting to their multiple ethnicities. If the child is punished for expressing multiethnic values and behaviors (including language), severe consequences may occur such as shame, guilt, social incompetence, etc. Children may also be seen as rejecting or betraying one part of their cultural heritage when displaying behaviors consistent with another ethnic group which is also part of the child's culture. Development of ICE (a tool the child needs) may be discouraged and considered inappropriate, since multiple ethnicities are not supported, leaving the child with little or no resources to deal with the family's mixed background. This may also precipitate, contribute, or lead to CH.

However, a family that promotes a multiethnic development may not be sufficient to prevent the child from developing CH. The social environment's reaction and acceptance/rejection of the ethnically mixed family may also influence the development of CH. Nevertheless, a familial environment in which allocentric attitudes are encouraged and supported could lead to the healthy development of the different dimensions required for ICE, a tool the child needs to adapt and accept his or her multiple ethnicities. Conversely, the family's ICE, as a whole, may set the basis for developing allocentric attitudes (vs. ethnocentric) and a healthy multiethnic identity; allocentric perspectives and ICE may be interdependent.

Perhaps the distinction between allocentric and CH individuals, assuming adequate ICE levels, is that the former may have successfully resolved age-appropriate stages of ethnic/cultural identity formation. Resolution of appropriate developmental

milestones may help the child/adolescent to acquire an unequivocal sense of which group they belong to (i.e., who are the in/out groups), allowing them to take on a multiplicity of ethnic "perspectives" but not necessarily "identity". Conversely, cultural homelessness may develop when children are faced with age-inappropriate questions and conflicts regarding their ethnic identity, but are unable to resolve these developmental challenges. This may result in confusion about who are the in- and out-groups are, if the cognitive demands are greater than what the child is equipped to manage; the child may attach a negative value to their multiple ethnic perspectives and identity.

On the other hand, if the social and familial environments within which the child is reared respect, value, and reward the integration of multiple ethnicities, perhaps CH does not develop. If both environments, however, foster prejudice and racism against the out-group, multiethnic children may grow up to have either ethnocentric views and attitudes (where the ethnic group is limited to their own family), or to reject their own ethnic group (family) in favor of the out-group. When the family does not satisfy the requirements for being a cohesive ethnic group, the child may grow up as a CH individual.

Consequences of Cultural Homelessness in the Systems Model

When members within a family have racially mixed backgrounds and upbringing (i.e., mother and father of different races, and children born within neither of these cultures; siblings born and raised within different cultures due to multiple geographic moves), individuals may not find an ethnic group representation for themselves and/or their family at the institutional or cultural level. Even when monoracial family members have a group representation and membership as individuals, the racially/ethnically mixed

family still would not belong to a single group. Thus the familial unit and the individuals within it would not find ethnic group membership beyond the family. Furthermore, when there is a mixture of more than two or three cultures within the family structure, and/or these cultural differences are too large and inconsistent between family members, then individuals may not be able to achieve a sense of "*familial ethnic cohesiveness*" even at the face-to-face level. Individuals, then, become a "minority of one" (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). This lack of group membership at the family or face-to-face level and at the institutional level would also be reflected as a lack of ethnic group membership at the cultural level.

In addition, according to Gibbs (1987) and Stonequist (1937) experiences of mixed ethnic heritage may serve to exacerbate problems associated with the normal process of identity development by creating uncertainty and ambiguity in individual identification with parents, group identification with peers, and social identification with a specific ethnic or racial group. This view is consistent with the risk factors presented above, when these are theoretically framed within the different levels of the systems model. The risk factors for the development of CH, organized by systems level, are presented in Table 2, Appendix A.

As stated throughout this work, exposure to multicultural experiences may have several advantages as well as disadvantages. Learning multiple cultural frames of reference and codeswitching across these as needed may help the individual develop significant cognitive flexibility, which would help him/her understand to new and ambiguous situations. In addition, individuals may readily acquire the behaviors necessary for cross cultural adaptation and multicultural competence. Individuals

exposed to multiple cultures may also develop broad cognitive and behavioral repertoires, have a wide variety of interpretations available to them in ambiguous situations, be able to learn and understand different perspectives easily, and be accepting of several views, however contradictory. Perceiving differences (especially cultural) as positive, attractive, and interesting might be another advantage of multicultural exposure and competence.

On the other hand, there may be important emotional and social deficits stemming from exposure to contradictory frames of reference and chronic codeswitching between them, particularly if the emotional demands on the individual are greater than the social resources available to him/her. Feelings of shame due to being different and rejected by all cultural groups, not having an in-group, isolation, and a sense of social incompetence, are some of the emotional and social disadvantages that the individual may experience; chronic feelings of inadequacy and low self-esteem might be part of the consequences. The hypothesized consequences originating from exposure to multicultural experiences are summarized in Table 3, Appendix A.

It is proposed by this study that there is a particular pattern of consequences arising from exposure to multiple cultures, which is likely to be different for CH and non-CH individuals. Furthermore, the pattern of experiences and consequences faced by multiculturally exposed individuals, regardless of their CH status, will differ significantly from those experienced by individuals who have been exposed to only one culture (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). Following the theoretical foundation on which CH has been constructed by the present study, it is hypothesized that the pattern of consequences characteristic of CH is likely to include cognitive and behavioral advantages, while the disadvantages would tend to be emotional and social in nature (as shown in Table 6,

Appendix A). These will be experienced and exhibited by the individual in different forms at the various levels of the systems model.

In order to test whether this pattern of hypothesized consequences related to CH, an inventory of multicultural experiences was developed (ICME - Inventory and Consequences of Multicultural Experiences; for a detailed description of this instrument's development, see Jenkins & Vivero, 1999a). Questions contained in this measure were designed to detect the pattern of consequences experienced by individuals with different multicultural status (monocultural, bicultural, and multicultural). Items were generated to reflect all four content domains (cognitive, behavioral, emotional, and social), the four levels of the systems model, and both valences (advantages/disadvantages), resulting in a 32-cell matrix (4x4x2) from which items were conceptually derived. For example, shame was conceptualized as an emotional disadvantage at the individual level; readily understanding rules and norms in unfamiliar situations was considered a cognitive advantage at the institutional level. According to theory, it was expected that CH individuals would endorse more items associated with the pattern described above (cognitive/behavioral advantages, emotional/social disadvantages) and with higher ratings than non-CH individuals, regardless of their multicultural status. Moreover, it was also hypothesized that endorsement of items representing lower levels of the systems model (e.g., individual) would be more strongly associated with CH than higher level items (e.g., cultural).

The Present Study: Hypotheses

The theoretical framework presented in this study is built on an integration of Marcia's (1981) ego identity status model and Ruesch and Bateson's (1951) systems

model of communication. In addition, the proposed framework incorporates the definition of *cultural homelessness* (Vivero and Jenkins, 1999) and the theoretical assumptions underlying this concept. Both the concept and assumptions are embedded in Ruesch and Bateson's model.

In order to test the theoretical model and to validate CH as a construct, it is necessary to develop a measure that would detect the presence of CH, according to a predetermined 3-factor criteria (described above and shown in Table 1). An individual is considered to be CH when all three factors are positively endorsed. The following hypotheses are designed to test both the proposed model within which CH has been theoretically embedded and the suggested association patterns that CH may follow; beginning with the risk factors that may contribute to the development of CH. The consequences that may ensue from a mixed cultural background are also tested, including both advantages and disadvantages, as well as the probability of developing CH. A comparison between multicultural individuals who develop CH and those who do not is explored, including an analysis of the relationship between CH and ICE.

H1: There are likely to be significant gender differences in CH, such that females have higher CH scores than males.

H2: There is a strong and positive correlation between CH and cultural status classification (mono, bi, multi).

H3: The probability of developing CH is higher in individuals exposed to a higher number of the CH risk factors.

H4: The probability of being CH increases when cultural/racial inconsistencies, differences, or disruptions occur at lower levels of the systems model.

H5: There is a positive correlation between the number of CH risk factors individuals have been exposed to and each of the consequences of multicultural experiences, regardless of their CH status.

H6. Significant differences emerge in the strength of the correlations between the risk factors and the negative ICME scales vs. the positive or neutral ICME scales.

H7: Individuals who meet the criteria for CH have significantly more multicultural experience consequences than those who do not meet the CH criteria.

H8: CH status moderates the associations between multicultural classification (mono and bi vs. multi), and the consequences of multicultural experiences, such that:

a. In non-CH individuals, there is a significant association between being multicultural and the positive consequences that stem from their multicultural experiences. Thus, compared to the monocultural and bicultural non-CH groups, multicultural individuals have significantly more advantages.

b. In CH individuals, there is a significant association between being multicultural and the negative consequences that stem from their multicultural experiences. Thus, compared to the monocultural and bicultural CH groups, multicultural individuals have significantly more disadvantages.

H9: Multicultural status moderates the associations between CH and the consequences that stem from cultural experiences, such that:

a. Non-CH bicultural and multicultural individuals experience a higher degree of positive consequences that stem from their multicultural experiences, when compared to their CH counterparts.

b. Conversely, CH bicultural and multicultural individuals experience more severe negative consequences that stem from their multicultural experiences, when compared to their non-CH counterparts.

H10: Both the risk factors and CH have a negative correlation with self-esteem.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

The 469 participants of this study were all currently enrolled undergraduate students at a large university in the North Dallas area. The sample was drawn from classes that were likely to attract students interested in multicultural issues and/or have racial/ethnic minority students in them such as courses in anthropology, sociology, psychology, communications, and business management with a cross cultural emphasis. Thus, the racial/ethnic composition of the participants slightly over-represents racial minorities compared to the racial/ethnic groups distribution of the predominantly Caucasian institution (75% - 80% Caucasian). The sample excluded a total of 21 questionnaires; thirteen of these were discarded due to either being incomplete (e.g., no ethnic/racial category; unclear minority status) or seemingly invalid (e.g., grossly inconsistent information; obvious response set). In addition, eight students declined to participate by returning a blank questionnaire. The remaining 448 questionnaires appeared to contain valid and accurate information; these constitute the present study's sample.

The gender distribution of the sample (n=448) was 67.4% (n=302) females, 32.4% (n=145) males, and 0.2% (n=1) unreported. Their age ranged between 17 and 52 years old, with a mean of 22.09 (SD=4.92); approximately 84% were 24 years of age or younger and only 5.7% were over the age of 30. The sample's socio-economic status was

determined by two raters following the Hollingshead Index of Social Position classification system (Hollingshead, 1958), based on self-reports of both parents' education and occupation, when available. Missing data for either parents' occupation was replaced with the mean occupational rating for the corresponding reported education (mean substitution procedure). According to this classification system, 74.6% of the sample's parents were categorized as Class II or Class III, with 2.0% in the lowest SES class (Class V) and 2.2% in the highest (Class I). Table 4, Appendix A presents the basic demographic characteristics of the sample.

Participants were racially and ethnically classified according to self-label and a detailed description of their parents' and grandparents' race and ethnicity (open ended questions). A complex categorization system, which integrated the three generations of racial/ethnic self-description is included in Appendix B. Coding identified 7.8% (n=35) of the sample as primarily (at least 3 out of 4 grandparents) Black, 10% (n=45) Hispanic/Latino(a), 9.4% (n=42) Asian, and 15.6% (n=70) as mixed Native American/ American Indian (1 or 2 Native American grandparents and/or different tribes). Monoracial Caucasian/White individuals comprised 56.9% (n=254) of the sampled population. Eleven individuals from the total sample (2.5%) were classified as "Other" in addition to their primary racial categorization (e.g., individuals from the Middle East or India were classified as *White* and *Other* or *Asian* and *Other*, respectively; South American Native Indians, *Hispanic* and *Other*). Thirty-seven respondents (8.3%) did not state their race and were categorized according to self-report of their parents' race and ethnicity. Thus, racial composition included monoracial (73.2%; n=327), biracial (23.9%; n=107), and multiracial (2.9%; n=13) individuals, and one (.2%) with missing

data. Less than 1% (n=4) of the population sampled had more than three races in their background.

Ethnically, 86.6% (n=388) of the sample met the categorical criteria for *American*, based on self-description, parentage, and parents' immigration status; 12.7% (n=57) were classified as *non-Americans*; and two (.4%) cases had missing data and remained unclassified. The total sample was further divided into monoethnic (n=145; 32.6%), biethnic (n=81; 18.2%), and multiethnic (n=219; 49.2%) individuals, by integrating ethnicity across 3 generations. A detailed composition of the sample's race and ethnicity is presented in Table 5 (Appendix A), separated by racial and ethnic status (mono, bi, multi). Derivation of the multicultural status index was more complex and required an elaborate decision making process. Since one of the goals of this project is to detect differences among individuals based on their multicultural status, the criteria and rationale for obtaining this index are presented in the results section.

Generally, the socio-demographic characteristics of the sampled population did not deviate from that of the overall undergraduate population attending this institution, with the exception that racial minorities were slightly over-represented, consistent with the purpose of the study and the variables of interest.

Recruitment and Data Collection Procedures

Since the institution where the data were collected is predominantly White in racial composition, the researcher contacted instructors of classes who may have a larger number of the target mixed-race/ethnicity group, in order to ensure an adequate sample of undergraduates for this study. The researcher obtained adequate permission and approval from the institutional review board to conduct the study; institutional policy for

independent research was followed. Instructors of multicultural classes in the departments of anthropology, sociology, and psychology were contacted, requesting permission to distribute questionnaires during class; proper course instructor's permission was obtained prior to data gathering. Undergraduate students were approached during a class period. The investigator explained the purpose and importance of the study, as well as the nature and relevance of the information to be collected.

Students agreed to participate on a voluntary basis, questionnaires were filled out anonymously, and students were free to withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences. In accordance with departmental policy, students from psychology courses received a maximum of one-point increase toward their final grade of a selected class, in exchange for their participation. Participants who returned unanswered questionnaires still received credit for their participation, if previously approved by the course instructor. Students in courses outside of the psychology department did not receive extra credit points in exchange for their participation. All instructors were offered an in-class presentation, consisting of a detailed explanation of the conceptual and theoretical bases of the present study. A copy of this investigation's results was also offered to all individuals who participated in the study; interested students provided their identifying information separately from the research questionnaire.

Instruments

Five instruments were used to gather data from research participants, with the following goals: to assess the risk factors hypothesized to be associated with CH, to detect the presence and severity of CH in all individuals, to measure the consequences of multicultural experiences independent of CH, and to determine the association, if any,

between CH and self-esteem. Four of these measures (General Demographics Questionnaire, CH Risk Factors Inventory, CH status criteria, and Inventory of Consequences of Multicultural Experiences) were generated for the purpose of this study; the fifth is Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Scale. The questionnaire also provided an opportunity for participants to add any information they thought would be relevant and useful for the purpose of this study. This information will be content analyzed separately in a later study. Appendix C presents a sample questionnaire packet, including all of the instruments in the same administration order.

The General Demographics Questionnaire (GDQ)

This questionnaire was specifically designed to obtain basic descriptive information and demographic characteristics of this study's sample. This measure included a series of questions on gender, age, marital status, education, socioeconomic status (parental education and occupation), and parental marital status. Included in this instrument are open-ended items aimed at assessing the participant's racial, ethnic, and cultural background, including self-label of race and ethnicity as well as a self-descriptive statement. In order to achieve the most accurate possible ethnic group classification, racial/ethnic background and immigration status about both parents and all grandparents were obtained. Questions regarding family of origin composition and changes were asked in an open-ended fashion.

This instrument also attempted to differentiate between monocultural, bicultural, and multicultural individuals based on environmental, social, and familial racial/ethnic consistency, in addition to languages learned while growing up and history of geographic relocations. Thus, the sample was divided into monoracial (same race parents), biracial

(different-race monoracial parents or same-race biracial parents), and multiracial (combination of more than two different races, based on parentage) groups. Similar criteria were used to classify individuals as monoethnic, biethnic, or multiethnic. Individuals' exposure to different cultures, either due to cross-cultural moves, family's ethnic/racial composition, and/or different cultural experiences (e.g., growing up with a racial minority nanny; being bilingual) was explored and encoded to categorize participants according to their cultural status (mono, bi, or multicultural). Separate questions asked respondents to describe all the geographic locations in which they had lived and their age at the time they lived in each place. A detailed explanation of the rationale and criteria used to assign these three status indices is presented later in the *Classifications and Index Derivation* section; also refer to Appendix B.

Cultural Homelessness Risk Factors (CHRiF)

According to the literature review and based on the systems model of communication (Ruesch & Bateson, 1951) the present study hypothesized that several factors may contribute to cultural homelessness. Theoretically, it was thought that attempts to achieve an integrated cultural identity could be more problematic for individuals who experience disruptions and/or inconsistencies at the individual level of the systems model, since the differences between the self and others would be based on personal traits rather than familial or community characteristics. Differences which are visible and unchangeable such as skin color, physical appearance, foreign accent in speaking the dominant language, etc. were conceptualized to constitute a higher risk factor than characteristic differences that are intrinsic to the family or a community. For example, even if the community is a racial minority group it can still serve as a possible

source of identification for the individual, and/or can provide safety and support. However, if the individual cannot identify with the community or even other family members, the likelihood for feeling culturally homeless is predicted to be higher. Similarly, multiracial individuals (both individual and cultural level differences) may experience more difficulties during the identity exploration and commitment process than multiethnic individuals (differences mainly at the cultural level).

The purpose of this measure was to detect the risk factors theoretically associated with CH. Items were designed to evaluate the participant's racial, ethnic, and cultural experiences at different levels of the systems model (Individual, Face-to-face, Institutional, and Cultural). This instrument measured the perceived degree of cultural discrepancy within the family and between the family and its social environment, as well as whether the individual's acquired cultural frames of reference are contradictory and difficult to integrate.

Each risk factor on this inventory was rated on a 3-point Likert-scale based on whether and how much the statement accurately described the respondent's experience, with "0" indicating *Not at all*, "1" *Part of the time*, and "2" meaning *Yes*. This measure included items such as experiencing inconsistent cultural practices within the family (e.g., speaking different languages with each parent or between parents and siblings), growing up in a racially and/or ethnically mixed family, and being reared in a family whose cultural practices are different from those of the social environment. A complete list of all the risk factors items generated for this study, sub-divided by levels within the systems model of communication, is presented in Table 6, Appendix A.

Although there are several combinations of risk factors which can yield the same overall CHRiF score, the scoring system was designed to distinguish between the level(s) at which the racial, ethnic, and/or cultural difference(s) occurred. For example, a dominant culture, monoracial, multicultural individual may obtain the same score as a racially and ethnically mixed, monocultural minority. However, the systems model levels leading to these two individuals' scores are different, since the first case would involve cross-cultural moves, with adaptation to different cultural and racial environments (cultural and institutional levels mainly) and the other represents racial differences within the family structure, and between the family and the individual (mainly individual and face-to-face levels). Thus, five indices were calculated from this 19-item inventory: a global risk factor index (GRFI) and four separate indices, reflecting the scores obtained at each separate level of the systems model (level 1= Individual to level 4= Cultural). The GRFI was computed as a single risk factor index, obtained by calculating the mean rating of all the CHRiF items equally weighted. The four systems level indices were based on the mean rating of the items endorsed at each level.

Cultural Homelessness Criteria

As reported by Vivero and Jenkins (1999), CH is characterized by feelings of not belonging to any group and struggles to determine ethnic group membership, lack of emotional attachment to any particular cultural group, and the need to find a cultural home. Culturally homeless individuals typically report early immersion in more than one culture, being chronically subjected to contradictory demands from those cultures, and feeling lack of socialization support for reconciling these contradictions, in addition to repeated experiences of multi-group rejection (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). As stated

earlier, situations that theoretically predispose to CH include having more than one culture present in the home (e.g., parents and/or grandparents of different cultures); cultural differences between the social environment and the family; and/or multiple cross-cultural family moves at a young age. Thus, CH individuals may experience themselves as culturally different from both family members and social surroundings.

Twenty items were generated to measure CH as a theoretical construct having three domains, as previously described and shown in Table 1:

I. Lack of Ethnic/Cultural Group Membership

II. Lack of Emotional Attachment to any Cultural Group and

III. Need for a Cultural Home

Each criterion item evaluating CH status was rated according to the extent to which the statement resonated with the individual's experience, feelings, or thoughts, using a 0 to 4 Likert scale anchored at (0) *Definitely not true* and (4) *Definitely true*; intermediate ratings included *Mostly not true* (1), *Sometimes or Somewhat true* (2), and *Mostly true* (3). Individuals were identified as CH when all three domains were simultaneously present, defined by being at or above a mean score cut-off of 2 for each of the three summary scales. The purpose for defining CH criteria in this manner was to dichotomize (presence/absence) and classify participants as CH or non-CH, hereafter referred to as *CH status*. In addition, ratings were also used as a continuous variable by obtaining the mean score of all three factors equally weighted, which will be referred to as *CH mean*.

As suggested by Haynes et al. (1995) and Foster & Cone (1995), one of the purposes of the present study was to take the initial steps toward construct validation

using items that were conceptually derived and empirically refined, based on the proposed theory and its framework. Thus, results obtained from the exploratory factor analyses are reported in the Results section of this study. A complete list of the items generated to measure the presence of CH is presented in Table 7, Appendix A.

Inventory and Consequences of Multicultural Experiences (ICME)

As reported by Jenkins & Vivero (1999b), theory and research in several fields have given a mixed picture of the likely impact of cross-cultural experiences. According to the literature, the consequences of such experiences range from personal strengths (greater social and cognitive repertoires; Park, 1928), cross-cultural adaptation (Kelley & Meyers, 1992; Kim, 1988), intercultural effectiveness (Cui & Van Den Berg, 1991), and less ethnocentric attitudes (Park, 1928; Smith, 1991) to acute cross-cultural disorientation (culture shock; Winkelman, 1994) and exacerbated problems associated with normal identity development and cultural marginality (Stonequist, 1937). Individuals with a multicultural background are typically presented in terms of their problems integrating multiple cultures and developing a multiethnic/multicultural identity. Taking the middle ground, Vivero and Jenkins (1999) have argued for a specific pattern of cognitive and social strengths accompanied by emotional difficulties called cultural homelessness.

The ICME is a study-specific instrument designed to evaluate individuals' exposure to and participation in different cultures, as well as the type and extent of consequences that stem from these cross-cultural experiences. Complex associations between CH and a specific set of perceptions and affects were hypothesized to follow from the kinds of cross-cultural experiences that may contribute to CH. Theoretically, CH individuals should show distinct patterns of advantages and disadvantages as a result

of their unique combination of multicultural experiences. It was further conceptualized that non-CH multicultural individuals would also show a distinct pattern of negative and positive cross-cultural experience consequences; however, these would differ from those shown by monocultural individuals.

To integrate these patterns and develop a measure of these conceptually defined responses to cross-cultural experiences, a three-dimensional matrix of construct sub-domains was developed to generate items for the inventory. The questions were designed to tap the advantages and disadvantages of four theoretical domains: emotional, social, cognitive, and communication (verbal and non-verbal language); these were evaluated at all four levels of the systems model (Individual, Face-to-Face, Institutional, and Cultural). This matrix yielded a total of 32 hypothetical clusters of consequences (4 domains x 4 systems levels x 2 valences), measured by 205 items conceptually generated to evaluate the constructs in each of the cells. Good domain sampling was ensured by inspecting each cell for over- or under-representation in the final measure. Examples of emotional advantages at the cultural level include items such as *It is emotionally important to me to maintain a strong connection to my ethnic group* and *I feel emotionally attached to more than one ethnic group*. Items such as *Being different from most people around me makes me feel lonely* and *I feel ashamed of my differences because they single me out* constitute examples of the emotional disadvantages at the individual level (see Figure 7, Appendix A for a brief description of each cell).

In order to assess cross-cultural adaptation capacity and interactional effectiveness across cultures, the ICME included several items inspired by selected dimensions of Cui and Awa's (1992) Intercultural Effectiveness Questionnaire (ICEQ).

Although the ICEQ evaluates the importance of certain factors for cross-cultural adaptation in travelling business males, which differs from the goals of the present study, intercultural effectiveness is a useful construct representing an advantage gained from multicultural experiences; thus, ICEQ items were adapted to fit the purpose and population of this study. The ICEQ-based ICME items were reworded in such a manner that adaptation to different cultural frames of reference could be measured, even if no cross-cultural geographic moves have occurred (i.e., ethnic minorities who have adapted to the majority's culture; members of the dominant culture living in a predominantly ethnic minority communities; etc.).

Empirical studies (Cui & Awa, 1992; Cui & Van den Berg, 1991; Cui, Van den Berg, & Jiang 1997) using the ICEQ suggest that intercultural effectiveness is two related processes: adjustment to the cultural environment and to the work place. To be interculturally effective, an individual must be able to function adequately in these two areas, as measured by level of social life and work experience satisfaction, respectively. The four-factor model (behavioral, cognitive, emotional, and personality traits factors; Cui, 1989) used to validate ICE as a construct (Cui & Van den Berg, 1991) showed significant factor loadings (.34 to .75). Their model also showed moderate and significant correlations between factors (.32 to .47), indicating coherence of the construct. The factorial validity of ICE as a construct was satisfactory and their overall model achieved moderate fit (Cui & Awa, 1992).

The ICEQ asks for subjective ratings on Cui's five dimensions of intercultural effectiveness: language and interpersonal skills, social interaction, cultural empathy, personality traits, and managerial ability. The dimensions adapted from this measure are

those which assess the perceived self-capacity to function adequately and effectively in unfamiliar socio-cultural environments; questions related to job performance and managerial ability were eliminated. Items generated for the ICME evaluated ability to initiate interaction and establish meaningful relationships; knowledge and appropriate usage of social interactions in a cultural context; awareness and enjoyment of cultural differences; understanding of other cultures; ambiguity and uncertainty tolerance; and creativity to solve problems arising from cultural differences.

The 205 items encompassed in the ICME were correlated with other variables (gender, ethnicity, and self-esteem) and severely biased items were eliminated. Although the items were initially generated to measure advantages and disadvantages in the cognitive, behavioral, emotional, and social domains, separated by systems levels, a series of factor analyses yielded a differently organized but theory-consistent nine-factor solution. The resulting instrument consists of nine scales clustered into three positive, three negative, and three neutral consequences subscales, measuring a range of emotional, cognitive, social, and communication advantages and disadvantages which have been conceptually related both to multicultural experiences as well as CH (Jenkins & Vivero, 1999a). The positive consequences cluster measured *Positive Feelings about Differences* (valued personal characteristics that identify and distinguish the individual from most others), *Social Advantages* (e.g., flexibility, adaptability), and *Multicultural Competence* (including interests and curiosity in other cultures). The negative cluster evaluated *Negative Feelings about Differences* (e.g., being singled out due to individual differences associated with negative feelings and/or consequences), feeling *Unique & Misunderstood* in general social interactions, and reporting feelings of *Shame &*

Self-Blame in the presence of cross-cultural confusion. The neutral subscales assessed *Deculturation* (loss of awareness of and/or practices related to one's own ethnic heritage; no attachment to one's heritage), *Multilingual Skills* (communication proficiency in more than one language, including the emotional and non-verbal understanding of the language), and *Cross-cultural Codeswitching* (shifting between and across cultural frames of references).

The first subscale of each cluster refers to attitudes and expectations regarding individual differences, the second taps a central theoretical CH construct without cross-cultural references, and the last contains items explicitly referring to culture. Another way of understanding the factor-based structure of these scales, also consistent with the proposed theoretical framework, is by viewing the resulting organization of this instrument from the systems model's perspective. That is, the first scale of each cluster (Positive Feelings about Differences, Negative Feelings about Differences, Deculturation) consist of items measuring feelings, attitudes, and expectations at the individual level of the systems model; the second subscales evaluate social consequences, mainly at the face-to-face and institutional levels (Social Advantages, Unique & Misunderstood, Multilingual Skills); and the third subscales (Multicultural Competence, Shame & Self-Blame, Cross-cultural Codeswitching) refer to characteristics of and experiences which occur at the cultural level. Cronbach's alphas for these scales ranged from .66 to .88. Correlations between scales in the Positive and Negative clusters were generally negative but low, ranging from -.03 to -.36, indicating that these experiences are substantially independent.

The ICME scoring is based on self-ratings according to the participant's agreement with each of the items presented. Item ratings ranged from 0 - 4 on a Likert scale, labelled as follows: *Definitely not true* (0), *Mostly not true* (1), *Sometimes or Somewhat true* (2), *Mostly true* (3), and *Definitely true* (4). A single score was obtained for each scale by calculating the mean rating of the items included in the scale, yielding 9 independent scores used for data analyses. A brief description of the domains measured by these scales and selected sample items are presented in Table 8, Appendix A. A complete list of the original 205 items administered to this sample, before the measure was factor analyzed, is included in Appendix C. The 20 CH items were interspersed in this list for administration purposes.

Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale

Participants' own feelings regarding their self-worth were measured by Rosenberg's Self-Esteem scale. The original sample used to validate this measure consisted of more than 5,000 high school junior and seniors, and it has been used in numerous studies since 1965. This 10-item scale has high face validity and good psychometric properties, particularly with college age students which is consistent with the present study's sampled population. The reported Cronbach's Alpha reliability for this instrument ranges from .88 to .77 in different research studies. Rosenberg's scale has been correlated with several self-esteem related constructs, demonstrating adequate convergent validity; discriminant validity has also been demonstrated. Thus, this is a measure against which other instruments are validated (reviewed in Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991).

This scale requires participants to report feelings about their self-worth, by answering five positively and five negatively worded face-valid items. Some factor analysis studies have found that this scale measures a unidimensional construct, while others have factored self-esteem into two highly related, yet separate factors. The proposed bidimensional construct may indicate that it is possible to regard oneself being as worthy as others (e.g., "I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others"), without necessarily feeling pride in one's accomplishments (e.g., "I do not have much to be proud of") or having a positive attitude toward oneself. Since there is a high correlation between these two factors, the present study considered self-esteem as a unidimensional construct.

Items of this scale are rated on a 4-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (4). A single self-esteem score was obtained by computing the mean of all 10 items, after reversing those scored in the negative direction. One of the limitations of this measure is that high scores may be artificially obtained due to some items' tendency to produce socially desirable responses. However, failure to endorse items at least moderately has consistently been associated with clinical depression, making lower scores' interpretation more reliable. Since the purpose for measuring self-esteem in the present study is to detect and examine patterns correlated with feelings of low self-worth, this was considered the most adequate instrument.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Frequencies, means, and standard deviations for each variable in the study were obtained. The distributions were visually inspected through the use of scatter plots, as well as statistically analyzed to detect extreme skewness or kurtosis, outliers, and other unpredicted severe deviations. While the basic demographic variables were significantly skewed, they were so in a way characteristic of most college undergraduate research participants in a predominantly White institution (i.e., monoracially White, young, single, female, mid-SES, and educated). No other severe deviations from normality were detected, with the exception of the variables predicted to depart from a normal distribution, such as CH risk factors and CH mean. Thus, no data transformation procedures were used.

Classifications and Index Derivation

The criteria used to arrive at the various classifications and index calculations presented in this section, as well as the procedure and coding rules followed, can be found in Appendix B. As previously explained, whether racially and ethnically mixed individuals differ significantly from same-race ethnically mixed individuals in their identity development is beyond the scope of this work. However, one of the purposes of the present study is to examine the impact of being bicultural or multicultural based on the individual's experiences, which are likely to be influenced by but not limited to his or

her race and ethnicity. Thus, although race, ethnicity, and culture are interrelated constructs there are some attributes and dimensions that might occur independently of each other (e.g., a monoracial/monoethnic individual with multiple geographic relocations across national boundaries is likely to be multicultural). Therefore, each participant was classified by racial, ethnic, and cultural status.

Consistent with the definitions and classifications presented earlier, and according to the same complex rules and criteria used to classify individuals into racial and ethnic categories, racial and ethnic status was based on both the individual's self-label and three generations of their family's reported race and ethnicity. Monoracial, biracial, or multiracial status was assigned according to the individual's racially mixed or non-mixed parentage; monoracial individuals have same-race parents. Similarly, individuals were classified as monoethnic, biethnic, or multiethnic depending on whether their parents and grandparents belong to the same ethnic group (monoethnic). Thus, monoracial/monoethnic minorities such as African-, Hispanic-, Asian-, and Native-American groups were considered to be monocultural unless there was additional evidence indicating that they belonged to more than one cultures. Biracial (two races) and multiracial (three or more races) statuses were used only to identify individuals with different race parents and grandparents; it always assumes different ethnicities. Individuals with different parental ethnic backgrounds, however, may or may not belong to a single race (monoracial). Similarly, biethnic and multiethnic status refer to individuals who are culturally mixed, assuming two or more different sets of cultural values based on their parents' mixed ethnic background. Individuals who are bicultural

on the basis of family and social environment ethnic differences are classified as monoethnic, and bicultural or multicultural.

Although racial and ethnic status are relatively independent of each other, individuals could not be classified as having more races than ethnicities since each race is considered to encompass at least one ethnicity. Nonetheless, participants could belong to more ethnic groups than they had races, since several ethnicities may share the same racial category. For example, a biracial individual (Black and White) would be assigned at least a biethnic status even if no ethnic description was reported, since both races are considered to constitute two different ethnic backgrounds. However, an individual could be classified as monoracial (e.g., Black) and biethnic (e.g., Kenyan and American). The same individual is classified as biracial and multiethnic if she or he indicates being Black and White (biracial), Kenyan, American, and Irish (multiethnic). This example describes the present study's theoretical connection between race and ethnicity, but also reflects their independent dimensions. Racial and ethnic status designations are made independently of the culture(s) within which the individual develops. No distinctions were made between three and more racial/ethnic backgrounds; these are all considered as multiracial/multiethnic. The individual's racial and ethnic classifications were considered in order to determine racial and ethnic status (mono, bi, multi), respectively. Multicultural status was assigned by agreement of two independent raters.

Participants were assigned a Multicultural Status Index (MCX), classifying them as monocultural, bicultural, or multicultural, based on the individual's reported exposure to certain multicultural experiences before the age of 14, regardless of their source. The experiences examined included: living in a racially/ethnically mixed household, cross-

cultural geographic moves, speaking more than one language, and cultural/racial differences between the household and the social environment. Interrater disagreements were discussed and re-evaluated. Frequency distribution of the participants' multicultural status revealed that 67.0% (n=300) of the sample was classified as monocultural, 27.5% (n=123) as bicultural, and 5.6% (n=25) as multicultural; there were no records with "missing data" for this categorization.

The determination of cross-cultural geographic moves used above was itself complex, including participants' pattern of geographic relocations, the individual's age at which it occurred, and whether a cross-regional or cross-national move was involved. The sample's mean number of geographic relocations was 2.14 (SD= 2.04), with 23 cases (5.1%) that had insufficient information and could not be coded. Individuals who reported living in the same place all their lives constituted 17.6% of the sampled population reported; 69.2% experienced less than three geographic moves in their lives; 12% had more than four moves; and 4.2% experienced seven relocations or more. Geographic moves were further separated into: moves between neighbor cities (mean= .30; SD=.71), within state or region (mean= .70; SD= 1.15), between regions (mean= .61; SD= 1.08), and relocations across national boundaries (mean= .41; SD= 1.06).

In addition, the number of family structure changes was coded in order to detect whether CH was correlated with or independent of familial disruptions and stressors such as divorce, re-marriage, step-siblings, birth of a sibling, a family member's death, and other significant household changes. Mean number of familial changes was .98 (SD = 1.25), with 52.9% (n=237) of the sample reporting no changes in family structure throughout their lives and 6% (n=27) experiencing 4 or more changes. Table 9,

Appendix A shows a summary of the participants' racial and cultural status (mono, bi, multi) distribution as well as their number of family changes, language(s) spoken (mean= 1.25; SD= .54), and patterns of geographic moves throughout their lives.

Instruments

Cultural Homelessness Risk Factors (CHRiF)

Visual inspection as well as data analysis of this inventory showed the expected distribution pattern, with an overall mean of .34 (SD= .39) and positively skewed. The mode of the overall risk factor score was zero; 22.4% of the respondents did not endorse any racial, ethnic, or cultural differences between the self, family, and/or their social environment. In addition, 94% of the sample obtained a score equal to or below 1. Table 10, Appendix A presents detailed information of the scores' distribution, as well as the associations between the overall and level means of this instrument.

On a scale 0 - 2, systems level means ranged from .29 at the individual level to .40 at the cultural level (SD= .41 to .49); all the level means and inventory items were positively skewed with a zero mode. At the cultural level, 39.6% of the sample reported having no risk factors stemming from racial/ethnic differences, compared to 51.2% who did not endorse any items at the individual level. These results indicate that participants overall reported more racial/ethnic differences between the family and the dominant society than differences reflecting personal characteristics, such as physical appearance and having contradictory frames of reference. In general, results obtained from this measure are consistent with the proposed theoretical framework of this study, which predicted that the risk factors assessed by this instrument would be endorsed by only a small percentage of people.

Cultural Homelessness Criteria

Factor analysis of the original 20 conceptually derived items generated to measure the three theoretical domains of CH (lack of ethnic/cultural group membership, lack of emotional attachment to any cultural group, and need for a cultural home) yielded a 3-factor oblimin rotation solution, accounting for 52% of the matrix variance. The first two factors seemed to be solid-fitting components consistent with theory as predicted, however, items were rearranged differently within the two factors. The third one had several cross-loading items, items that loaded with opposite valence in different factors and had overall low communalities. Thus, six of the original criteria items were discarded, including all of the exclusion criteria items (i.e., partial attachment to and/or identification with more than one group), as these appeared to be peripheral to the three theoretical domains and not correlated to other items as originally conceptualized. This method of theory-based item generation and empirically-informed feedback has been suggested by Haynes et al. (1995) and Foster and Cone (1995) to develop and content validate assessment instruments, particularly when these are aimed at measuring new constructs.

Subsequent SPSS principal component analyses of the remaining 14 CH-criteria items yielded two factors explaining 49.8% of the total matrix variance; the two principal factors accounted for 36.9% and 12.9% of the variance, respectively. Consistent with theory, the oblimin rotation yielded the optimal solution, revealing two factors containing 8 and 5 items, respectively, supporting the overall content validity of the CH construct. However, as stated above, the items did not necessarily load on the factor representing the content domain for which they were initially designed to sample. Thus, items

measuring CH criteria I and II were combined into two factor-based scales along conceptual lines slightly different than originally proposed.

Furthermore, all of the items conceptually expected to measure the third domain of CH (need for a cultural home) had high loadings on factor one, with the exception of one item ("Finding a cultural home is important to me"). This single item was identified as factor 3, mapping into CH's theoretical domain III. Although this item had modest loading (???) on factor 1 it was pulled out of the factor and used as a separate component of the CH status criteria, in order to represent more closely the originally proposed theory. Internal consistency reliability analyses showed that this item had a low item total correlation and low correlations with other factor 1 items, supporting its use as a separate single item scale.

Each of the three resulting factor-based CH domains maps onto a different level of the systems model, also consistent with the structure of the ICME scales. Thus, factor 1 corresponds to the individual level, factor 2 to the face-to-face and/or institutional levels, and factor 3 to the cultural level. Table 11, Appendix A shows a comparison of the conceptually-generated CH domain criteria items vs. the factor-based, empirically derived scales. In addition, Table 12, Appendix A presents the 20 items originally generated, indicating the theoretically proposed vs. the resulting empirical CH domain that each item was supposed to measure.

In order to evaluate whether CH is a unitary construct, Cronbach's Alpha reliability was calculated for the items measuring CH. This computation yielded an overall 13-item scale reliability of .84, with Alpha= .84 for factor 1 and .71 for factor II, suggesting the existence of two separate unitary but intercorrelated underlying constructs.

Factor 1 showed inter-item correlations ranging from .54 to .21 and factor 2's correlations between items ranged from .49 to .17, indicating that there is moderate content redundancy. The two main CH factors were correlated r= .46; factor 1 and the single item used as CH's third criterion had a .33 correlation. However, factor 2 was not related to this item (r= .00). The final solution's factor loadings of all CH items as well as inter-item correlations, relationships between factors, and factor reliabilities are presented in Table 13, Appendix A.

Following Haynes et al. (1995) outline procedure a review of the item content of the resulting factor-based scales indicated the need for an empirically informed revision of the three CH content domain. According to this conceptual reorganization, the three new domains were relabeled and are described next. An individual was considered to be culturally homeless when all of the three components were present to at least a moderate degree:

I. ***Ethnic/Cultural Identity Conflicts and Rejection***. This criterion measures feelings associated with having an ethnic/cultural minority status in multiple groups, including feeling culturally homeless everywhere and rejected by all ethnic groups. Individuals who score high in this domain are likely to struggle with issues related to ethnic/ cultural self-identity and group representation, being unable to use any existing ethnic/ cultural group as their reference group. Furthermore, the individual may experience conflicts as a consequence of having multiple and contradictory frames of reference; a need to integrate these may be present. Also included in this criterion are: experiencing difficulties finding others who are ethnically/culturally similar to oneself, and frequently being asked about one's ethnicity.

II. ***Lack of Membership and Attachment to any Ethnic/Cultural Group***. These items evaluate the individual's subjective feelings of "not belonging" to any cultural/ethnic group; every group is considered the "out-group". Individuals report difficulties finding a single group with which they can identify or whose label accurately describes them. This lack of group membership may stem from or lead to unsuccessfully searching for a group whose cultural values and practices represent those of the individual. Consequently, lack of emotional attachment to any existing ethnic/cultural group is likely to be experienced.

III. ***Need for a Cultural Home***. Endorsement of the single item included in this domain reflects the individual's emotional need and/or desire to find a "cultural home". However, this domain does not currently measure whether inability to find such place produces feelings of emotional distress and/or concern, as originally proposed.

For this exploratory study, CH was operationally defined in two ways: (1) as a categorical variable, with scores above the median on all three domains and (2) as a continuous variable, calculating the mean of all three factors, equally weighted. For the categorical approach, Criteria I and II are considered to be met when the means of the corresponding factor 1 and 2 factor-based scales, were above a predetermined cut-off point (> 2 on scale 0-4). Criterion III was met when the single item measuring this domain was endorsed with a rating equal to or greater than 2. Factor means were evaluated independently from each other and from criterion III, such that all three domains were weighted equally despite the uneven number of items in each factor (8, 5, and 1, respectively). Used in this manner, 7.9% of the sample (n=35) was identified and classified as culturally homeless.

Using CH as a continuous variable, the CH mean for the sample was 1.41 (SD= .72), on a scale 0-4; means of the three factor-based scales were 1.04 (SD=.82), 1.31 (SD=.88), and 1.87 (SD=1.32), respectively. With the exception of factor 1, which was slightly positively skewed, the other variables (overall CH scale, factor 2, and factor 3) were normally distributed. A series of paired t-tests was calculated to compare CH mean and the means of all three separate factors. Results showed that all of the means were significantly different from each other ($p < .001$), except CH and factor 2. The association between CH status (categorical presence or absence) and CH mean was $r(445) = .50$, $p < .001$, showing that a significant amount of variance is lost when CH is defined categorically.

Inventory and Consequences of Multicultural Experiences (ICME)

These nine scales clustered into 3 positive, 3 negative, and 3 neutral consequences subscales, with sample means ranging from 1.14 (Deculturation) to 2.54 (Social Advantages), on a 0 to 4 scale. Skewness and kurtosis analyses, as well as visual inspection of the distribution, revealed that these scales were all nearly normally distributed. The three subscales in the Positive Consequences cluster which measured Positive Feelings about Differences, Social Advantages, and Multicultural Competence had intercorrelations ranging from .45 to .59. The Negative cluster's intercorrelations ranged from .46 to .53 and evaluated Negative Feelings about Differences, feeling Unique and Misunderstood in general social interactions, and feelings of Shame and Self-Blame in the presence of cross-cultural confusion. Finally, intercorrelations among the Neutral cluster scales were found to be between .28 to .58; these assessed

Deculturation, Multilingual Skills, and Cross-cultural Codeswitching. Table 14, Appendix A shows a complete list of the scales' means and standard deviations.

Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale

On a scale of 1 - 4, the average self-esteem rating for the whole sample was 3.36 (SD= .50), with the lowest mean score of 1.50. Although this distribution was slightly negatively skewed, it was consistent with other college population samples (reviewed in Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991).

Associations Among Variables

Triangular zero-order correlation matrices were computed in order to detect potential unpredicted relationships among the socio-demographic variables, cross-cultural experience (suspected to increase with age), and unexpected multicultural consequence patterns. This evaluation allowed for the detection of variables which may need to be controlled during data analysis. Results are presented next and in the respectively cited tables.

No significant age differences were found between males and females. Gender and age were proportionately distributed across races; also, there were no significant racial differences found between males and females. Age and gender composition for the total sample maintained the same distribution when the sample was separated by racial, ethnic, and cultural status (each subdivided into mono, bi, and multi categories). The only significant association among demographic variables were found between social class and being Black, r (444)= .15, $p< .002$, and being White, $r(444)= -.12$, $p< .01$.

Multicultural status was significantly correlated with being Asian, point biserial r (446)= .24, $p< .001$, being Hispanic, $r(446)= .23$, $p< .001$, and not being White, r (446) =

-.22, p< .001. Likewise, high scores on the risk factor inventory were associated with being Asian, Hispanic, and White, r (445)= .30, p< .001, r(445)= .34, p< .001, and r (445) = -.29, p< .001. The same pattern of correlations with race were detected for CH, measured as a continuous variable (Asian, r (445)= .37, p< .001, being Hispanic, r(445)= .15, p< .001, and not being White, r (445) = -.31, p< .001). However, as a categorical variable, being Hispanic was not related to CH, and the associations between CH and being Asian (r (446)= .24, p< .001) or White (r (446) = -.16, p= .001) were weaker.

Examination of correlational patterns among age, gender, multicultural status (mono, bi, or multi), CH, and the average of all risk factors revealed that there are no gender differences on any of the above mentioned variables. A significant age difference was detected between the CH vs. non-CH groups when the variances were analyzed separately, t(57.24)= 2.89, p < .01, with CH individuals being younger (mean= 20.71; SD= 2.67) than non-CH (mean= 22.21; SD= 5.05); these two groups' standard deviations were also significantly different (F= 3.56, p< .001). The relationship between CH as a continuous variable and age was also not significant (r (444)= -.04, p= ns). Associations between multiracial, multiethnic, and multicultural status showed a complex but distinct pattern. Being multiracial and multicultural were significantly correlated (r=.16; p=.001), while being multiethnic and multicultural were not (r=.06; p=ns), indicating that racially mixed individuals have a higher probability than ethnically mixed individuals of being multicultural.

Frequency tables, means, standard deviations, and correlations were calculated based on classification according to CH status (presence/absence), multicultural status (mono, bi, multi), and ethnic/racial status (refer to Tables 9, 10, & 14). In addition, Table

15, Appendix A presents a summary of the significant associations among these variables, including the correlations between CH, the risk factors associated with CH, the multicultural experiences inventory (ICME scales), self-esteem scores, and other variables related to multicultural status.

Hypotheses Tests

To answer the question of whether CH is better defined as a category (presence/ absence) or a continuum, all data analyses were conducted using CH both as a dichotomized categorical variable and a continuous variable. Tests relating CH status to binary coded variables use and those with continuous variables use point biserial correlations to show effect size (percentage of variance accounted for). Tests associating CH mean to dichotomized categorical variables use point biserial correlations and those with continuous variables use zero-order Pearson correlations.

Results for each hypothesis are presented and reported below.

H1: There are likely to be significant gender differences in CH, such that females have higher CH scores than males. This hypothesis was tested by calculating the association of gender with CH status and CH mean. This hypothesis was not supported. CH status and CH mean showed no significant gender differences ((445)= -.08, p= ns, and $r_{(pb)}(444)$= -.05, p= ns, respectively).

H2: There is a strong and positive correlation between CH and cultural status classification (mono, bi, multi). Two correlations were obtained to examine the significance between multicultural status and CH. In addition, a group means t-test was calculated to show statistical significance.

a. A point-biserial correlation showed a significant association between multicultural status and CH status ($r_{(pb)}(446)= .26$, $p < .001$), indicating that the incidence of CH increases with higher levels of multicultural classification. This was confirmed by a t-test, which showed significant group differences between non-CHs and CHs regarding multicultural status ($t(37.29)= -4.46$, $p< .001$). Thus, multiculturals are more likely to be CH than are non-multicultural individuals (mono or bicultural). Likewise, bicultural individuals have a higher incidence of CH than monoculturals but lower than multiculturals.

b. CH as a continuous variable was also correlated with multicultural status, confirming and strengthening the relationship described above ($r(445)= .35$, $p< .001$).

H3: The probability of being CH is higher in individuals exposed to a higher number of the CH risk factors. This was tested by calculating two correlations between CH and the mean of the endorsed risk factors as a continuous variable.

a. The point-biserial correlation using the presence/ absence of CH as a dichotomous variable was positive and significant, $r_{(pb)}(445)= .27$, $p < .001$, supporting the hypothesis. Consistent with this result, comparisons of the risk factor means for both groups (CH and non-CH) yielded significant differences, $t(36.53)= -4.11$, $p < .001$.

b. This hypothesis was also supported when the correlation was calculated using both mean risk factors and mean CH criteria rating as continuous variables. The computed correlation was $r(439)= .43$, $p < .001$, demonstrating a stronger relationship than for CH status.

H4: The probability of being CH increases when cultural/racial inconsistencies, differences, or disruptions occur at lower levels of the systems model. This hypothesis predicted that the effect size and degree of statistical significance would successively increase, becoming more significant at the individual (level 1) than at the cultural level (level 4), with scores on the face-to-face and institutional levels falling within these two extremes. MANOVA was not used to test this hypothesis due to the severe group-size discrepancy between CH and non-CH groups. Thus, this was tested by comparing CH with the risk factor scales for the different systems levels, as follows:

a. Point biserial correlations and group means t-tests were calculated to examine these associations, using CH status as a dichotomous predictor variable and the degree of disruption at each systems level as the dependent variables. Although significant differences between CH and non-CH individuals were detected at all levels of the systems model, results supported this hypothesis in the predicted direction, yielding stronger positive associations between CH status and risk factors at the individual vs. the cultural level. Table 15a presents these results.

b. Using CH as a continuous variable, this hypothesis was examined by calculating a Pearson correlation between CH and the degree of disruption at each level of the systems model. The relationships between CH and the systems levels disruptions strengthened the previous results in the expected direction; these are also shown in Table 15a.

H5: There is a positive correlation between the number of CH risk factors individuals have been exposed to and each of the scales measuring the consequences of

multicultural experiences, regardless of their CH status. To test this relationship, a series of zero-order Pearson correlations was calculated using the mean risk factors and the ICME scales. This hypothesis was completely supported for all of the relevant scales, with positive and significant correlations between the risk factors and each of the scales. The strength of these relationships varied from $r(442) = .46$, $p < .001$ on the Cross-Cultural Competence scale to $r(442) = .10$, $p < .04$ on the scale measuring Negative Feelings about Individual Differences, as shown in Table 15b.

H6: Significant differences emerge in the strength of the correlations between the risk factors and the negative ICME scales vs. the positive or neutral ICME scales. This hypothesis evaluates whether a larger number of cultural disruptions, at any level of the systems model, correlates more strongly with the negative consequences that stem from multicultural exposure than with the positive/neutral consequences. The zero-order Pearson correlations tested in H5 were used, with risk factor mean and each of the ICME scales as continuous variables. This hypothesis was not empirically supported. A trend counter to the predicted direction was observed in two of the neutral ICME scales (Multilingual, $r(444)= .45$, $p < .001$, and Cross-cultural Competence/Codeswitching?, $r(442)= .46$, $p < .001$), showed the strongest correlations. The negative consequences scales showed modest to low relationships, $r(441)= .25$, $p < .001$; $r(440)= .20$, $p < .001$; and $r(442) =.10$, $p < .04$.

H7: Individuals who meet the criteria for CH have significantly more multicultural experience consequences than those who do not meet the CH criteria. This hypothesis was tested by a series of point biserial correlations and t-tests for the dichotomized CH, and by a zero-order Pearson correlation, using CH as a continuous

variable. MANOVA was not used to test part (a) because of the severe cell-size discrepancy between CH and non-CH groups.

a. A series of point-biserial correlations was calculated to examine CH status and its relationship with each of the ICME scales. This hypothesis was partially supported by statistically significant correlations between CH status and 7 of the 9 scales, as shown in Table 15b. The relationships ranged from $\underline{r}_{(pb)}(438) = .42$, $\underline{p} < .001$, on the scale measuring feelings of Deculturation to $\underline{r}_{(pb)}(443) = .16$, $\underline{p} = .001$, on the Cross-Cultural Competence scale. Two of the three ICME scales measuring positive aspects of multicultural experiences failed to show a difference between CH and non-CH individuals. These are the Social Advantages scale $\underline{r}_{(pb)}(443) = -.003$, $\underline{p}$= ns and the scale which evaluates Positive Feelings About Individual Differences $\underline{r}_{(pb)}(438) = .06$, $\underline{p}$= ns.

In addition, group means t-tests compared the average multicultural experience consequences endorsed by CH vs. non-CH individuals, as measured by each of the 9 ICME scales. These calculations confirmed the above described pattern, with t-tests ranging from $t(438) = -9.69$, $\underline{p} < .001$ to $t(443) = -3.39$, $\underline{p} = .001$, for the significantly different scales. The non-significant scales were the Social Advantages scale $t(443) = 0.07$, $\underline{p}$= ns and the scale measuring Positive Feelings About Individual Differences $t(438) = -1.31$, $\underline{p}$= ns, also consistent with the above pattern. All of the F-tests used to examine the CH vs. non-CH groups' standard deviations showed non-significant differences.

b. The Pearson correlations calculated between CH as a continuous variable and each of the ICME scales confirmed the above results, but with two differences. First, this analysis showed a stronger relationship between CH and all of the scales, regardless of significance. The correlations followed the same pattern as in (a) and ranged from $\underline{r}(437) = .77$, $\underline{p} < .001$ to $\underline{r}(439) = .32$, $\underline{p} < .001$, on the Deculturation and Cross-Cultural Competence scales, respectively. Second, one of the positive aspects scales that was previously non-significant (Positive Feelings About Individual Differences) showed a significant relationship with CH, $\underline{r} = .11$, $\underline{p} < .02$, when CH was used as a continuous variable. Table 15b presents a summary of the correlations and mean differences between CH status, CH mean, and the 9 factor-based ICME scales.

H8: CH status moderates the associations between multicultural classification (mono & bi vs. multi), and the consequences of multicultural experiences, such that:

a. In non-CH individuals, there is a significant association between being multicultural and the positive consequences that stem from their multicultural experiences. Thus, compared to the monocultural and bicultural non-CH groups, multicultural individuals have significantly more advantages, as measured by the three positive ICME scales (Cross-Cultural Competence, Social Advantages, and Positive Feelings About Individual Differences). However, negative and neutral consequences (remaining six scales) are likely not to differ.

b. In CH individuals, there is a significant association between being multicultural and the negative consequences that stem from their multicultural experiences. Thus, compared to the monocultural and bicultural CH groups, multicultural individuals

have significantly more disadvantages, as measured by the three negative ICME scales (Unique and Misunderstood, Shame & Self-Blame, and Negative Feelings About Individual Differences). However, positive and neutral consequences (remaining six scales) are likely not to differ.

Because severe cell-size differences again precluded MANOVA, both parts of this hypothesis were tested by group means t-tests (separately for CH and non-CH groups), comparing multicultural individuals with monocultural and bicultural individuals on each of the ICME scales as the continuous, dependent variables. The first part of this hypothesis was completely supported, with significant differences noted between multicultural vs. monocultural/bicultural individuals on the positive consequences scales among non-CH individuals. However, the second half of this prediction was disconfirmed, perhaps affected by the small sample size (27 mono plus bicultural and 8 multicultural participants) and resulting loss of statistical power. Since a complex pattern of interactions emerged, resulting correlations are presented in Table 16, Appendix A.

H9: Multicultural status moderates the associations between CH and the consequences that stem from cultural experiences, such that:

a. Non-CH bicultural and multicultural individuals experience a higher degree of positive consequences that stem from their multicultural experiences, when compared to their CH counterparts.

b. Conversely, CH bicultural and multicultural individuals experience more severe negative consequences that stem from their multicultural experiences, when compared to their non-CH counterparts.

These were tested by computing group means t-tests within the bicultural and multicultural group, comparing CH vs. non-CH status (dichotomous variable) bicultural and multicultural individuals on the pertinent ICME scales. A MANOVA procedure revealed that there were main effects for CH status, $F(1)= 25.36$, $p< .001$, and the ICME scales, $F(8)= 37.86$, $p< .001$; the interaction effect was also significant, $F(8)= 4.84$, $p< .001$.

In addition, to test part (a) the three positive consequences scales were used. Results supported this part of the hypothesis. Part (b) was tested by using the three negative consequences scales and was fully supported. These results are presented in Table 17, Appendix A.

H10: Both the risk factors and CH have a negative correlation with self-esteem. To test this relationship, self-esteem scores obtained from Rosenberg's scale were correlated with (a) the overall mean of the risk factors inventory, and (b) CH status and CH mean. In addition, group means t-test were calculated to compare self-esteem between CH vs. non-CH individuals, which was predicted to be significantly lower in the CH group. This hypothesis was fully supported, with all associations being significant in the predicted direction. Results are as follows:

a. The number of risk factors to which an individual was exposed was significantly and negatively associated with their reported feelings of self-worth, $r(445)= -.11$, $p < .02$, indicating that high risk factor scores are correlated to low self-esteem. Furthermore, this relationship was significant, in the same direction, at the individual level ($r(445)= -.19$, $p < .001$) and the institutional level ($r(445)= -.10$, $p < .05$).

b. Self-esteem was negatively correlated with the presence of CH, $r_{(pb)}(446) = -.15$, $p < .01$. In addition, group means t-test showed a significant difference in self-esteem between the CH and the non-CH groups, $t(446) = 3.19$, $p < .01$, with CH individuals scoring lower. Defining CH as a continuous variable confirmed and strengthened the negative relationship between CH and self-esteem, $r(445) = -.26$, $p < .001$. This hypothesis was fully supported, showing that CH individuals have significantly lower self-esteem than non-CH individuals.

Exploratory Analyses

To better understand the unexpected results obtained from Hypothesis 1, further analysis was conducted by examining the relationship between gender and the three CH factors separately. Testing the factors independently from each other and from the mean revealed that two of the CH factors were significantly correlated with gender. However, these relationships were in the opposite direction, with factor 1 having higher scores for males ($r_{(pb)}(439) = -.19$, $p < .001$; t-test$(439) = 4.09$, $p < .001$) and factor 3 for females ($r_{(pb)}(439) = .10$, $p < .05$; $t(439) = -2.17$, $p < .05$). Thus, these differences cancelled each other out, yielding a non-significant overall difference. CH factor 2 showed a marginally significant association with gender ($r_{(pb)}(442) = -.09$, $p < .06$; $t(306) = 1.98$, $p < .05$), with males scoring higher.

In general and consistent with theory, results demonstrated that CH seems to be best defined as occurring along a continuum, having degrees or levels. Defining CH as a continuous variable typically strengthened the associations among variables, compared to using CH as a presence/absence categorical variable. Thus, the following discussion

focuses on the association patterns obtained by testing degrees of CH, its hypothesized precursors, and the proposed consequences.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The present study proposes a new theoretical framework for redefining and understanding race, ethnicity, and culture, terms which have been controversial across fields, in research as well as clinical work. In addition, most existing work has focused on racial and ethnic identity development of monoethnic minorities. Achieving a multicultural identity might be difficult for the racially and ethnically mixed individual who may feel that identifying with a particular ethnicity(ies) means "giving up" or "betraying" the other parts of one's identity. Very limited theoretical work (e.g., Root, 1992; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999) and few research studies (e.g., Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Kerwin et al., 1993) have addressed this issue. Moreover, there are conflicts, misunderstandings, and limitations with the literature's current definitions of ethnicity and race. Likewise, there is a lack of consensus on how to define and apply the term "culture", a term often equated to and used interchangeably with ethnicity, furthering confusion.

Thus, this study's goal was threefold: (1) to detect where the definitional conflicts lie and use a general systems framework to generate operational definitions for explaining, expanding, and integrating the controversial terms *race*, *ethnicity*, and *culture*; (2) to understand individuals who, despite the more clearly defined terms, still do not fit into any category due to their unique combination of experiences; and (3) to propose, define, measure, and empirically test the new construct of *cultural homelessness*

(CH), addressing the issue of multicultural identity and the consequences of not achieving a cultural identity. The present work emphasizes the importance of culture and its impact on identity, rather than the more often studies dimensions of race and ethnicity. In this context, culture encompasses all of the individual's social experiences, regardless of whether they occur within the same (monocultural) or different (bicultural or multicultural) cultural environment. For multicultural individuals, multiple frames of reference are involved which may be unintegrated and are perhaps a source of conflict and distress.

The theoretical definition of cultural homelessness includes feelings of not belonging to any cultural group, lack of emotional attachment to and inability to identify with any cultural group, and the need or desire to find a cultural home (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). It was hypothesized that the CH individual's feelings and experiences would have both positive and negative consequences, especially if these lead to contradictory practices, values, and beliefs which cannot be integrated and regardless of their source or origin. That is, the experiences of the CH individual stem from early immersion in multiple cultures which could be due to a racially mixed heritage, multiple geographic moves, and/or repeated exposure to multicultural experiences in the social environment; this has both advantages and disadvantages. Individuals continually exposed to multiple cultures are typically required to learn, adapt, use, and codeswitch between several frames of reference, shaping their psychological makeup in a particular and distinctive way. On the one hand, having multiple frames of reference readily available, knowing how to codeswitch appropriately, and being able to understand and communicate effectively across cultures are all evidence of intercultural competence. On the other

hand, the individual's unique combination of personality characteristics and behavioral patterns may result in difficulties to find others with whom to identify, not having a reference group based on a shared culture, and becoming vulnerable to multigroup rejection. Furthermore, struggles to resolve and attempts to integrate contradictory frames of reference may lead to both the advantage of developing some aspects of intercultural effectiveness and the disadvantage resulting from the unresolved contradictions.

Theoretically-derived CH criteria were operationally defined, inventory items were generated, and the construct was measured as both a categorical and a continuous variable. Conceptualization of CH as having continuous degrees or levels seemed more consistent with the originally proposed framework and produced larger efect sizes in the statistical analyses. In addition, several risk factors were identified by theory and proposed to be associated with cultural homelessness; these were empirically tested and the relationship supported. Overall, results detected complex relationships among the identified risk factors, CH, and a set of perceptions and affects conceptualized to result from multicultural experiences, generally supporting the predicted patterns.

The originally proposed associations among variables derived from theory can be summarized into three broad categories, each discussed separately. These are: (1) There is a predictable set of individual, familial, and social characteristics likely to be related to CH; these are called "Risk Factors." (2) Exposure to a particular combination of multicultural experiences shapes individuals' social, cognitive, and emotional traits, in such a manner that the patterns exhibited by these individuals are distinguishable from those of other people, regardless of CH status. (3) Conceptually, exposures to both the

risk factors and certain multicultural experiences are likely to interact in complex ways, having overall measurable positive and negative consequences. The effects theoretically resulting from this interaction may include becoming CH, depending on the type and amount of risk factors and multicultural experiences. In addition, CH individuals exhibit a particular cognitive and emotional characteristic pattern, regardless of multicultural status.

Analyses of demographic variables, such as age, gender, and social class, revealed that these relationships are not linear nor simple. For example, gender differences in CH illustrate the apparent multi-faceted aspects of CH by partially contradicting the originally proposed relationship. Results obtained from gender comparisons showed that although two of the three CH factors were significantly correlated with gender, these were in the opposite direction for each factor, cancelling out the effect for the overall CH score. The factor measuring ethnic and cultural identity conflicts, in addition to feelings associated with being culturally homeless and rejected by all groups (factor 1), was originally predicted to be higher for CH females. However, this factor was endorsed more often and with higher scores by males; nonetheless, it was significantly more related to being a CH male than to just male. In contrast, consistent with predictions, females generally scored higher in the need to find a cultural home (factor 3), but this was not necessarily related to CH; non-CH females also reported higher scores than males in this factor. The remaining CH factor (2), measuring lack of membership and attachment to any ethnic/cultural group, was marginally related to being male. Perhaps this finding indicates that females work more actively to form connections in attempts to

feel less marginalized. Nonetheless, this interpretation is also counter to the proposed hypothesis.

Likewise, detected age differences were marginally significant, showing that CH individuals are younger. This, however, could be due to the overall low variability of the sample's age, since students in both groups were young (20 vs. 22 years old). In addition, CH individuals' ages tended to cluster together more homogeneously than non-CH participants, thus, although CH may be related to age it is not solely a consequence of being young. However, because the present study is cross-sectional, this question remains unanswered.

Results suggest that culture and cultural context are not limited to the individual's race or ethnicity; this is shown in the distinct associations found between race, ethnicity, and culture. Multicultural status was determined according to a predefined set of experiences, not limited to or solely based on race and ethnicity; it included cross-cultural geographic relocations, culturally mixed family composition, general exposure to different cultural frames of reference, etc. The positive relationship found between multiracial and multicultural classification vs. the non-significant correlation between multiethnic and multicultural status has several implications. On the one hand, it suggests that race might not be simply subsumed under ethnicity, as proposed by some studies (e.g., Phinney, 1992; Smith, 1991) but seems to be a separate construct. On the other hand, the fact that being multicultural is significantly related to being multiracial but independent of being multiethnic perhaps indicates that racially mixed but not ethnically mixed individuals may tend to preserve their bicultural or multicultural heritage. These results, however, also imply that some monoethnic (and by definition

monoracial) individuals exposed to a multicultural environment during childhood may report bicultural or multicultural attitudes and traits. This may suggest that "multiculturality" in the United States is a reflection of racial rather than ethnic mixing and/or exposure to a multicultural environment experienced by monoracial individuals, both of which are more historically recent phenomena. Thus, being ethnically mixed and monoracial is likely to be different than being ethnically and racially mixed. This was also confirmed by its impact on CH, in two ways: (1) the probability of being CH increased when the individual endorsed more items at the individual level of the systems model (e.g., race) than at the cultural level (e.g., ethnicity), meaning that his or her mixed heritage, minority status, and differences are racially rather than ethnically based; (2) racially mixed CH individuals revealed higher mean CH scores that non-racially mixed CH individuals.

These patterns suggesting a stronger relationship between multicultural status and race rather than ethnicity support the prediction that there would be significant differences across levels of the systems model. This difference could be explained by the nature and type of experiences that racially mixed individuals might be exposed to vs. those experienced by ethnically but not necessarily racially mixed individuals. Race, independent of ethnicity and culture, encompasses visible physical features which are very difficult or impossible to change. These traits occur at the individual level of the systems model, meaning that negative experiences associated with these visible and unchangeable personal characteristics may be internalized, perhaps leading to consequences such as low self-esteem, shame, and feelings of "wrongness" about oneself. Conversely, ethnicity occurs at the cultural level and it has no immediately apparent

distinguishable features, unless the individual chooses to make these features visible (e.g., wearing certain clothes, engaging in particular cultural rituals, behaving according to a distinct and identifiable set of group norms, etc.).

Although culture is affected by both race and ethnicity, it also seems to have aspects that are independent of both. Nevertheless, results support the notion that culture is more related to race than ethnicity, perhaps because race mediates the individual's face-to-face interactions and experiences. Thus, multiracial individuals, due to their visible differences, may be more likely to encounter multiple and repeated racially related experiences (including racism) that may lead to the development of certain multicultural attitudes and frames of reference. This may not necessarily occur with multiethnic, non-racially mixed individuals. In addition, although not all multicultural individuals are CH and not all CH individuals are multicultural, there is a strong and positive association. Defined along a continuum, CH shows a significant correlation with being multicultural and multiracial, but is unrelated to being ethnically mixed.

Risk factors associated with CH were conceptualized within the framework of a systems model of communication (Ruesch & Bateson, 1951), at four levels: individual, face-to-face, institutional, and cultural. These risk factors have apparently occurred during childhood and adolescence, although their developmental effect or relationship with development is not clear and beyond the scope of this study. Although CH in general was strongly correlated with the identified risk factors at all levels of the systems model, this was particularly true at the individual level, supporting the predicted theoretical connection between exposure to the identified risk factors and being CH, at the different levels of the systems model. Furthermore, gender differences were found in

the relationship between CH and disruptions at the cultural level, suggesting that the impact of having a culturally mixed family and/or experiencing cultural differences and conflicts between the family and its social context affects females more often than males. This result provides some evidence for the notion that women feel responsible for sustaining, transmitting, and perpetuating culture; disruptions at the cultural level of the systems model may create more feelings of distress for females than for males, especially inasmuch as those feelings refer to CH. However, further analyses of the interaction between gender, CH, and the risk factors, separated by systems levels, are needed to understand this interaction.

Based on theoretical assumptions, it was predicted that CH individuals would show a distinct pattern of behaviors, feelings, and socialization practices specifically related to their exposure to the proposed risk factors and experiences in multiple cultures. Included in this pattern were advantages, thought to be mainly cognitive in nature, and disadvantages, likely to be of emotional origin. Hypothesized multicultural experience consequences were assessed by nine scales clustered into three positive, three negative, and three neutral consequences subscales. These nine scales measure a range of emotional, social, and cognitive advantages and disadvantages which have been conceptually related both to cultural experiences and to CH. One subscale of each cluster refers to experiences regarding individual differences, one taps a central theoretical CH construct without cross-cultural references, and one contains items explicitly referring to culture (Jenkins & Vivero, 1999a). Furthermore, these factor-derived scales parallel the levels of the systems model, in that the first subscale of each cluster (Positive Feelings about Differences, Negative Feelings about Differences, Deculturation) measures

experiences and feelings at the individual level; the second subscales (Social Advantages, Unique & Misunderstood, Multilingual Skills) evaluate attitudes, expectations, and social consequences, mainly at the face-to-face and institutional levels; and the third set of subscales (Multicultural Competence, Shame & Self-Blame, Cross-cultural Codeswitching) refer to attributes typically associated with and events experienced at the cultural level. Consistent with theory, results obtained from these scales confirmed that CH individuals describe a distinct combination of personal, familial, social, and cultural characteristics and experiences infrequently found together in other populations, regardless of multiracial or multiethnic status.

Partly inspired by Cui's concept of Intercultural Effectiveness (ICE), it was proposed that CH individuals would evidence significantly more cognitive and social advantages than non-CH individuals, such as cognitive flexibility and adaptability, cross-cultural competence, social advantages, and positive feelings about individual differences. Of particular interest is the result obtained from the Multicultural Competence scale which measures general multicultural interests, being able to have different cultural perspectives, and understanding other cultures' points of view. This scale detects characteristics somewhat similar to those described as ICE and, as predicted, showed a significant and positive relationship with CH. Focusing on these scales' similarity may allow for specific future inferences and conclusions on the relationship between CH, cross-cultural competence, and intercultural effectiveness.

The theoretical proposition that CH individuals would report more emotional disadvantages than non-CH people was also strongly supported. Negative emotional consequences were significantly related to CH and included feelings of shame and self-

blame in the presence of cross-cultural confusion, loneliness due to not finding others like oneself, and being unique and misunderstood. Also related to CH were low self-esteem and generally feeling bad about personal differences because the individual feels "singled out" and "not belonging" to any group. The latter two feelings were conceptualized to form the emotional basis of cultural homelessness. A feeling of deculturation was found to be present and a function of CH, regardless of multicultural status; monocultural CH individuals also reported feeling a loss of culture. Furthermore, as predicted, low self-esteem was significantly and strongly related to being both CH and multicultural but was not associated with racial or ethnic status (mono, bi, or multi).

Feelings of deculturation in monocultural, especially White monoracial individuals could be interpreted as either leading to or a consequence of CH. However, this study did not evaluate causal directions. It is possible that monoethnic White individuals, particularly males, whose families immigrated to this country more than three generations ago, never had to examine their ethnic identity or their position of racial privilege. Thus, they might feel confused and deculturated when faced with questions regarding their own race and ethnicity, and whether these dimensions are incorporated into their self-identity (e.g., a male participant answered "I am White so I don't have an ethnicity", in response to *How do you describe yourself ethnically?*). Perhaps these individuals' feelings regarding the loss of their ancestry and familial culture is the long-term effect of the "American melting pot" and a function of prejudice and discrimination, since minorities typically have to struggle to “lose” their differences (“melting into the pot” seems to be one way). It is likely that in order to avoid discrimination and rejection some minority individuals (particularly immigrants) may either isolate themselves in

ethnic enclaves which can provide safety (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) or strive to assimilate to the dominant culture, to survive financially and emotionally. The latter results in the loss of the individual's original culture and, in White families, their descendents might become undistinguishable from the White monoethnic Americans who have been in this country for several generations. It could be that feelings of deculturation experienced by White Americans are a reflection of centuries of discrimination against immigrants and the ensuing loss or giving up of culture. The American "melting pot" might be a result of the self-effacement of all cultures due to racism, rather than evidence of a society which has truly accepted and integrated multicultural values and practices. Many racial minorities have begun to seek out and reclaim their cultural roots; however, White Americans may not know where to search for their ancestors' cultural home.

In summary, empirical findings reveal significant association patterns between CH status, risk factors, multicultural classification, and specific consequences stemming from cross-cultural experiences, confirming that CH individuals are distinguishable from non-CH as well as from other multicultural people. The predicted relationships between the identified risk factors, CH, and the positive consequences of experiencing diverse cultures were generally supported, revealing that multicultural individuals have significantly more advantages than non-multiculturals, independent of their degree of CH. Furthermore, the disadvantages stemming from multicultural experiences and the risk factors seem to be fully a function of being CH rather than being multicultural, since non-multicultural CH individuals also showed more negative consequences than non-CH individuals. Confirmation of the predictions made regarding the negative and positive

aspects of being CH was obtained when analyses were conducted on and related to multicultural status. Overall, the above mentioned correlations did not consistently show the same pattern when CH, the risk factors, and the consequences of cross-cultural experiences were analyzed using multiracial and multiethnic status.

Self-esteem results obtained from this study are consistent with those found by Phinney and Alipuria (1996), in that ethnically mixed individuals do not evidence significantly lower self-esteem compared to non-mixed individuals. In this study however, self-esteem was negatively related to being culturally mixed (culturally mixed individuals had lower self-esteem); but this association could be more a function of being CH than of being multicultural per se. Empirical findings suggest that CH may moderate the association between multicultural status and self-esteem. In addition, this finding confirms the above statement that ethnically mixed individuals are not necessarily multicultural; these two groups seem to exhibit different characteristics and correlational patterns.

Overall, advantages of multicultural experiences seem to stem from exposure to multiple cultures, while disadvantages seem to come from being culturally homeless. It was not possible however to examine the causality of these relationships. Results obtained from this study appear to point toward certain aspects of cross-cultural experiences which may act as mediators between the nature of the risk factors (i.e., racially and culturally vs. ethnically mixed family; contradictory vs. non-contradictory multiple frames of references; etc.) and becoming CH. Consistent with the theoretical framework originally proposed, intense pervasive and chronic exposure to negative aspects of multicultural experiences (e.g., feeling misunderstood and alone; shame due to

individual differences) appear to be strongly correlated with cultural homelessness. Also, there is evidence suggesting that when these negative experiences are associated with lower levels of the systems model, CH is more likely to be present. Alternatively, if due to the nature of the risk factors (exposure to more than one culture in a non-mixed family), the individual experiences the more positive aspects of being multicultural (cognitive flexibility, multiple and broader perspectives, cross-cultural adaptability), then CH may not ensue. Nonetheless, the advantages of being exposed to multiple cultures such as intercultural competence, will still be present, confirming the theoretically derived predictions. It seems that there is a particular, rarely found combination of risk factors and multicultural experiences that serves to shape individuals' behaviors, feelings, and cognitions in a specific way. In the present study, these have been identified and labelled as cultural homelessness.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

Although the US has seen an increase in racially mixed families and in cross-cultural mobility, empirical studies have tended to overlook the cognitive, social, and emotional impact of these events. Thus, individuals who have experienced a particular combination of contrasting culturally and racially related situations have remained unidentified and understudied. This study offers several important contributions to better understand the positive and negative consequences of cross-cultural experiences, particularly the effects of racial and cultural mixing, multicultural heritage, and their impact on identity and self-esteem.

Using a systems model framework to integrate the literature's current definitional chaos, this work may have advanced the conceptualization of race, ethnicity, and culture, explaining their interconnection and making some distinctions not frequently made in the literature. Some evidence was provided that race and ethnicity are different from culture, and that race may not simply be subsumed under ethnicity. In addition, these terms were related to cultural homelessness, a previously undefined concept. Empirical findings show that multicultural status and CH have separate and distinguishable effects, suggesting that these are multi-faceted constructs interacting in complex ways.

There were some unexpected and interesting results that bear mentioning, such as the detection of CH in monoracial/monocultural Caucasian individuals, particularly males who reported significant feelings of deculturation. This finding may be better labelled as

"ethnic homelessness" and although it might share some overlapping characteristics with CH they differ in a fundamental way. Ethnic homelessness may be the result of growing up without a distinct cultural frame of reference, resulting in the feeling of not having a distinct culture, while CH seems to be associated with codeswitching across multiple unintegrated cultural frames of reference, producing a feeling of having multiple cultures but not a cohesive cultural home. This distinction could serve as an anchor point of or focus for further research.

Some of the limitations of the present study include the fairly homogeneous population sampled. Although there was some racial and cultural variability, participants were young college students, approximately half were Caucasian, and all were currently residing in the US. It was also not possible to study in detail the main effects of age on CH, since age span among individuals was very limited. One of the main problems any CH study may encounter is that, by definition, finding and identifying multicultural and culturally homeless individuals is difficult, since they represent a small minority of the population (otherwise they probably would not be CH). The number of multiracial, multicultural, and CH individuals was low, although better than most studies. Furthermore, it was difficult to investigate the impact of cross cultural moves, since most non-immigrants had limited geographic relocations involving a different culture; analyses controlling for immigration status were not included.

Suggested direction for future studies may involve exploring in detail the effects of age and gender on CH, in an attempt to understand the developmental implications of culturally mixed families and cultural discontinuities. Older individuals, for example, may show different patterns of consequences associated with CH which are perhaps

mediated by gender. Future research may be aimed at investigating the causal relationships and direction of the associations among basic demographic characteristics, risk factors, and multicultural exposure, which may be bidirectional. Empirical studies with Caucasian populations are needed to understand the difference between CH and the pattern of ethnic homelessness observed with White individuals. Lastly, although the mental health implications of CH are unknown, these results and limited clinical experience (e.g., Vivero, 1997, 1998) support the prediction that CH has several disadvantages. It is important to further examine the negative consequences of CH, in order to implement adequate mental health treatments that could effectively address these individuals' difficulties while maximizing the benefits of their multicultural experience.

APPENDIX A

TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Table 1

Theoretical CH Domain Criteria

CONCEPTUALLY DERIVED CONSTRUCT DOMAINS

I. ***Lack of Ethnic/Cultural Group Membership***
- Feelings of not belonging to any ethnic/cultural group
- Struggles to determine group membership
- No ethnic/cultural group representation
- No ethnic/cultural reference group

II. ***Lack of Emotional Attachment to any E/C* Group***
- No E/C group attachment
- Every group is the "out-group"
- Cannot identify with any group or confused about E/C identity
- Feels rejected by all groups

III. ***Need for Cultural Home***
- Cultural minority everywhere
- Does not feel home in any culture
- Finding a cultural home is important
- Needs to resolve contradictory frames of reference

Table 2

Risk Factors for the Development of Cultural Homelessness

Systems Model Level	Risk Factors	CHRiF Item #
Cultural (Level 4)	Racially mixed family	1
	Ethnically mixed family	2
	Different races between family and dominant society	3
	Ethnic differences between family and dominant society	4
	Language difference between home and dominant society	5
Institutional (Level 3)	Language difference between family and attended institution	6
	Language difference between family and attended social groups or functions	7
	Family / institutional environment culture inconsistent (school, job, stores)	10
	Family / social environment culture inconsistent (church, community)	11
Face-to-Face (Level 2)	Language difference between family and peers/friends	8
	Different languages used within the family	9
	Culturally different from friends	12
	Culturally different from peers	13
	Culturally mixed family	14
Individual (Level 1)	Culturally different from most family members	15
	Physical appearance different from dominant culture individuals	16
	Accent to speak dominant language	17
	Ethnic self-label is not dominant culture recognized	18
	Contradictory cultural values & practices	19

Table 3

Hypothesized Consequences of Multicultural Experiences

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
Emotional	*Emotional*
Feeling good about individual diffs Fast emotional adaptability Comfortable in new situations Empathic across cultures Attachment to more than one EG(1) "At home" in or with > 1 culture	Hard to identify/label own feelings Feelings of inadequacy Inadequate/unsafe about differences Unique & misunderstood Loneliness, social isolation, sadness Social Blunders = shame, self-blame Only partially attached to any 1 group
Social	*Social*
Adaptability to new surroundings Non-verbal Communication Skills Socially skilled in new situations Accepted by more than one EG Enjoys cultural activities of diff grps	Hard to communicate own feelings Confused @ application of social norms Socially inappropriate Questions where family "fits" in society
Cognitive	*Cognitive*
Cognitive flexibility across cultures Acculturates fast & easily Sees others point of view readily Grasps rules of unfamiliar customs fast Understands views / values > 1 EG Knows cultural activities of diff groups	Difficulty integrating cultural values Confused frames of reference in new sits Does not understand basic norms Does not understand source of confusion EI confusion – ambiguous ID
Behavioral	*Behavioral*
Fast learning by observing others Ability to codeswitch fast & easily Able to speak / understand > 1 language Adopts customs easily in new sits Participates readily in unfamiliar customs Behaviors belong to more than one EG	Confused about how to behave Conflicts between diff. interaction rules Behaviors belong to > 1 EG

(1)EG= Ethnic Group

Table 4

Sample's Demographic Characteristics

Demographic Variable	N= 448 (%)	Mean	(SD)
Gender[a]			
Female	302 (67.4)		
Male	145 (32.4)		
Missing Data	1 (.2)		
Age		22.09	(4.92)
17 - 19	142 (31.8)		
20 - 22	187 (39.6)		
23 - 25	65 (14.5)		
26 - 30	37 (8.2)		
31 - 52	26 (5.7)		
Missing Data	1 (.2)		
Education		Some College	
High School/GED	49 (10.9)		
1-4 years college	367 (81.9)		
College Graduate	28 (6.3)		
Masters Degree	3 (.7)		
Other	1 (.2)		
Marital Status		Single	
Single	368 (82.1)		
Married	52 (11.6)		
Living w/ Partner	19 (4.2)		
Divorced/Separated	9 (2.0)		
Parental SES[b]		2.90	(.82)
Class I Professional	10 (2.2)		
Class II Skilled	137 (30.7)		
Class III Semi-skilled	96 (43.9)		
Class IV Blue-collar	94 (21.1)		
Class V Unskilled	9 (2.0)		

[a] Binary coded as (1) Female and (0) Male

[b] Calculated according to the Hollingshead's Index Position. In this classification system *Class I* is considered the highest social class; *Class V* is the lowest

Table 5

Sample's Racial, Ethnic, & Cultural Characteristics

Racial/Ethnic Composition	Monoracial N=327 (73.2%)	Biracial[a] N=107 (23.9%)	Multiracial[a] N= 13 (2.9%)
Race[b]			
Asian	34 (10.4%)	6 (5.6%)	2 (15.4%)
Black	22 (6.7%)	10 (9.3%)	3 (23.1%)
Caucasian	254 (77.7%)	1 (.9%)	
Hispanic[c]	14 (4.3%)	23 (21.5%)	8 (61.5%)
Native American	3 (.9%)	67 (62.6%)	
Other	6 (1.8%)	2 (1.9%)	3 (23.1%)
"Don't Know"	13 (4.0%)	19 (17.8%)	4 (30.8%)

	Monoethnic N=145 (32.6%)	Biethnic[a] N= 81 (18.2%)	Multiethnic[a] N=219 (49.2%)
Ethnicity[b]			
U.S./Canada	105 (9.4%)	10 (12.3%)	
Mexico	3 (2.1%)	12 (14.8%)	20 (9.1%)
Central/So.American	4 (2.8%)	2 (2.5%)	8 (3.7%)
West Europe	2 (1.4%)	41 (50.6%)	126 (57.5%)
East Europe	1 (.7%)	2 (2.5%)	45 (20.5%)
Africa	2 (2.5%)		
Middle East	2 (1.4%)	1 (1.2%)	
Asia (incl.So/SE)	27 (18.6%)	8 (9.9%)	7 (3.2%)
Pacific Islander	3 (3.7%)	1 (.5%)	
Jewish	1 (.7%)	12 (5.5%)	
Other	6 (4.1%)	3 (3.7%)	1 (.5%)
"Don't Know"	48 (33.1%)	40 (49.4%)	112 (51.1%)

(a) These were binary coded for presence (1) or absence (0)

(b) 99.6% of racially/ethnically mixed individuals had Caucasian &/or American in their mix; only the *predominant minority* race/ethnicity was listed for these groups to avoid multiple classifications.

(c) Since *Hispanic* does not have the same meaning in all countries, this classification was made according to the U.S. Census Bureau definition. Likewise, individuals of Latin American origin who described themselves as *White* were classified as *Hispanics*, even though they would be more accurately classified as White.

Table 6

CH Risk Factor (CHRiF) Items by Systems Model Levels

Systems Model Level	Risk Factors
Cultural (Level 4)	➢ My family was racially mixed (Black-Caucasian; Asian-Hispanic) ➢ My family was ethnically mixed (Japanese-Korean; Irish-Italian) ➢ My family's race(s) was different from the race of the dominant society ➢ My family's ethnicity(ies) was different from that of the dominant society ➢ The language(s) spoken at home was different from the dominant society's
Institutional (Level 3)	➢ I spoke a different language at home than at school ➢ I spoke a different language at home than at most social gatherings ➢ The culture I learned at home was different from the culture I learned at school ➢ Our family's culture was different from that of our neighbors, church, community
Face-to-Face (Level 2)	➢ I spoke different languages with my family than with my friends ➢ I spoke different languages with different family members ➢ I was culturally different from most of my friends ➢ I was culturally different from most of my peers ➢ In my family different cultures were emphasized and practiced
Individual (Level 1)	➢ I have considered myself culturally different from most of my family members ➢ I was different in appearance from individuals of the dominant society ➢ When I spoke the dominant culture's language I had an accent ➢ When I fill out forms that ask for ethnicity, my ethnic self-label is not in them ➢ Sometimes my different cultural values, beliefs and practices contradict each other

Table 7

Conceptually Derived CH Criteria Items (ICME item #)

I. ***Lack of Ethnic/Cultural Group Membership***

01. I feel that I don't belong to any ethnic or cultural group (167)
02. I feel that I really belong to more than one ethnic group (98)
03. People sometimes make mistakes about which ethnic group I belong to (198)
04. I struggle to determine where I belong ethnically or culturally (211)
05. There is no group anywhere that represents who I am ethnically (219)
06. One ethnic group label is enough to describe me (131)
07. When I think which ethnic or cultural group I mostly act or think like, I cannot find one (107)

II. ***Lack of Emotional Attachment to any Ethnic/Cultural Group***

08. I don't feel emotionally attached to any ethnic or cultural group (93)
09. I feel only partially attached to any one ethnic group (138)
10. I identify partially with more than one ethnic group, but not completely with any (147)
11. There is no ethnic group with which I can identify (111)
12. I am confused about my ethnicity (206)
13. No one ethnic group label accurately describes me (145)
14. I have felt discriminated against by all ethnic groups because of my ethnicity (209)

III. ***Need for Cultural Home***

15. I am an ethnic or cultural minority everywhere I go (222)
16. I am often asked about my ethnicity or where I am from (114)
17. I don't feel culturally "at home" anywhere I go (120)
18. Finding a cultural "home" is important to me (225)
19. It is difficult for me to find others like me ethnically or culturally (135)
20. I have more than one set of cultural values and these contradict each other (218)

Table 8

Domains Measured by the ICME Scales

Positive Subcales	**Neutral Subcales**	**Negative Subcales**
Positive Feelings About Individual Differences Measures feeling positively about one's own uniqueness and differences	*Deculturation* Measures the degree to which the individual is unattached to his or her own cultural/ethnic group, including lack of awareness & loss of practices of one's background	*Negative Feelings About Individual Differences* Measures feeling negatively about one's own uniqueness and differences
Social Advantages Degree of flexibility and adaptability in new and unfamiliar social situations, by accessing from different frames of reference. Also, ability to observe and imitate others, quickly & effectively	*Multilingual Skills* Measures the extent to which an individual thinks, feels, & processes info in more than one language; degree of communication proficiency in more than one language	*Unique & Misunderstood* Feelings of loneliness due to one's uniqueness and lack of identification with others. Feeling misunderstood due to having different (and multiple) frames of reference
Multicultural Interest Extent to which individuals are interested in, exposed to, immerseed within more than one culture. Also, measures cross-cultural competence	*X-Cultural Codeswitching* Ability to codeswitch across and between cultures quickly and effectively, even in unfamiliar situations	*Shame & Self-Blame* Measures the degree to which of cross-cultural confusion and social blunders lead to shame. Also, assesses extent of feeling responsible and blaming oneself for cross-cultural confusion and failure to codeswitch accurately

ICME Subscales Sample Items

Positive Subcales	Neutral Subcales	Negative Subcales
Positive Feelings About Individual Differences	*Deculturation*	*Negative Feelings About Individual Differences*
♦ I make an effort to understand the ways that I am different from my friends ♦ I take opportunities to help others understand my differences	♦ I feel that I have lost touch with my family's original customs ♦ It has been difficult for me to stay attached to the same cultural customs over the years	♦ Being different from most people around me makes me feel lonely ♦ When someone says I am different from others, I feel unsafe and inadequate
Social Advantages	*Multilingual Skills*	*Unique & Misunderstood*
♦ I can usually figure out a new situation quite fast ♦ Others tell me that I communicate clearly and accurately in new situations	♦ I am able to speak and understand more than one language ♦ Sometimes I mix two languages when I speak	♦ I tend to isolate myself because I think no one else is very much like me ♦ Other people find it hard to understand how I see the world
Multicultural Interest	*X-Cultural Codeswitching*	*Shame & Self-Blame*
♦ I like to learn about other cultural groups ♦ I have learned a lot of useful things from other cultures	♦ I make mistakes about what is appropriate in one culture but inappropriate in another ♦ I sometimes get mixed up about which social graces go with which culture	♦ When I misjudge others' thoughts and actions, I feel ashamed ♦ I tend to blame myself for failures to communicate

Table 9

Multicultural Variables Means & S.D.: Whole Sample, CH, & non-CH groups

	Whole Sample		CH Group			Non-CH Group	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)		Mean	(SD)
	(n = 447)		(n = 35)			(n = 412)	
Multicultural Variables							
Multiracial Index	1.30	(0.52)	1.47	(0.66)	ns	1.28	(.50)
Multiethnic Index	2.18	(0.93)	1.91	(0.89)	ns	2.20	(.93)
Multicultural Index	1.39	(0.59)	1.91	(0.74)	**	1.34	(.56)
Number of Family Changes	1.00	(1.30)					
Languages	1.25	(0.54)					
Total Geographic Relocations	2.14	(2.04)	2.55	(2.28)	ns	2.11	(2.02)
Geo Moves- within cities / states	0.30	(0.71)	1.03	(1.82)	ns	.99	(1.31)
Geo Moves- cross region / country	0.99	(1.35)	1.37	(1.52)	ns	.99	(1.56)
Geo Moves- cross countries only	0.41	(1.06)	0.80	(1.11)	*	.38	(1.05)

ns=non significant
* = p > .05
**= p > .01

Table 10

CH Risk Factors Scores: Means, S.D., and Interlevel Correlations

	Whole Sample Mean (SD) (n = 447)		CH Group Mean (SD) (n = 35)			Non-CH Group Mean (SD) (n = 412)	
CH Risk Factors & Levels							
Overall Risk Factor	.34	(.39)	.69	(.55)	**	.31	(.36)
Cultural Level (4)	.40	(.46)	.67	(.71)	*	.38	(.42)
Institutional Level (3)	.30	(.48)	.61	(.65)	**	.28	(.45)
Face-to-Face Level (2)	.35	(.49)	.72	(.61)	**	.32	(.47)
Individual Level (1)	.29	(.41)	.75	(.56)	**	.25	(.37)

Interlevel Correlations	Lvl 4	Lvl 3	Lvl 2	Lvl 1
Overall Risk Factor	.79	.87	.91	.82
Cultural Level (4)	-			
Institutional Level (3)	.55	-		
Face-to-Face Level (2)	.61	.81	-	
Individual Level (1)	.51	.64	.67	-

* = p > .05
**= p > .01

Table 11

Theoretical vs. Empirical CH Domain Criteria

CONCEPTUALLY-DERIVED CONSTRUCT DOMAINS:

I. ***Lack of Ethnic/Cultural Group Membership***
* Struggles to determine group membership
* Feelings of not belonging to any ethnic/cultural group
* No ethnic/cultural group representation
* No ethnic/cultural reference group

II. ***Lack of Emotional Attachment to any E/C [(a)] Group***
* No E/C group attachment
* Feels rejected by all groups
* Every group is the "out-group"
* Cannot identify with any group or confused about E/C identity

III. ***Need for Cultural Home***
* Finding a cultural home is important
* Cultural minority everywhere
* Does not feel home in any culture
* Needs to resolve contradictory frames of reference

FACTOR-BASED CONSTRUCT DOMAINS:

I. ***E/C [(a)] Identity Conflicts & Rejection***
* Struggles to determine group membership
* Feels rejected by all groups
* Cultural minority everywhere
* Does not feel home in any culture
* Needs to resolve contradictory frames of reference

II. ***Lack of Membership and Attachment to any E/C [(a)] Group***
* No E/C group attachment
* Feelings of not belonging to any ethnic/cultural group
* No ethnic/cultural group representation
* No ethnic/cultural reference group

III. ***Need for Cultural Home***
* Finding a cultural home is important

[(a)] E/C = Ethnic/Cultural

Table 12

Theoretically Proposed vs. Empirically Derived Items and Domains

CH CRITERIA ITEMS	THEORETICAL DOMAIN	FACTORED DOMAIN
I feel that I don't belong to any ethnic or cultural group	1	2
I feel that I really belong to more than one ethnic group	1	eliminated
People sometimes make mistakes about which ethnic group I belong to	1	eliminated
I struggle to determine where I belong ethnically or culturally	1	1
There is no group anywhere that represents who I am ethnically	1	1
One ethnic group label is enough to describe me	1	eliminated
When I think which ethnic or cultural group I mostly act or think like, I cannot find one	1	2
I don't feel emotionally attached to any ethnic or cultural group	2	2
I feel only partially attached to any one ethnic group	2	eliminated
I identify partially with more than one ethnic group, but not completely with any	2	eliminated
There is no ethnic group with which I can identify	2	2
I am confused about my ethnicity	2	eliminated
No one ethnic group label accurately describes me	2	2
I have felt discriminated against by all ethnic groups because of my ethnicity	2	1
I am an ethnic or cultural minority everywhere I go	3	1
I am often asked about my ethnicity or where I am from	3	1
I don't feel culturally "at home" anywhere I go	3	1
Finding a cultural "home" is important to me	3	3
It is difficult for me to find others like me ethnically or culturally	3	1
I have more than one set of cultural values and these contradict each other	3	1

Table 13

Factored Item's Loading, Interitem Correlations, and Reliabilities

	CH Factored Item	Factor I Loading	Factor II Loading	Factor Correlation
	I. *Ethnic/Cultural Identity Conflicts & Rejection*			
1.	I am an ethnic or cultural minority everywhere I go	.83	.77	.06
2.	I am often asked about my ethnicity or where I am from	.72	.68	.11
3.	I struggle to determine where I belong ethnically or culturally	.69	.77	.47
4.	I have more than one set of cultural values and these contradict each other	.69	.72	.33
5.	It is difficult for me to find others like me ethnically or culturally	.65	.70	.36
6.	I have felt discriminated against by all groups because of my ethnicity	.62	.60	.12
7.	I don't feel culturally "at home" anywhere I go	.59	.64	.34
8.	There is no group anywhere that represents who I am ethnically	.48	.59	.52
	II. *Lack of Membership and Attachment to any Ethnic/Cultural Group*			
1.	I feel that I don't belong to any ethnic or cultural group	.27	.77	.78
2.	There is no ethnic group with which I can identify	.33	.73	.77
3.	I don't feel emotionally attached to any ethnic or cultural group	-.01	.66	.59
4.	When I think which group I mostly act or think like, I cannot find one	.36	.61	.66
5.	No one ethnic group label accurately describes me	.41	.47	.55

Inter-Items Correlation Matrix

		I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	I8	II1	II2	II3	II4	II5
I1	I am an ethnic/cultural minority everywhere I go	1.0												
I2	I am often asked about my ethnicity ...	.51	1.0											
I3	I struggle to determine where I belong ...	.44	.38	1.0										
I4	I have more than one set of cultural values ...	.43	.41	.53	1.0									
I5	It is difficult for me to find others like me ...	.42	.38	.54	.45	1.0								
I6	I have felt discriminated against by all groups ...	.46	.21	.49	.29	.30	1.0							
I7	I don't feel culturally "at home" anywhere I go	.38	.32	.05	.43	.48	.30	1.0						
I8	There is no group anywhere that represents me	.33	.34	.46	.51	.40	.25	.31	1.0					
II1	I feel that I don't belong to any group	.11	.09	.35	.25	.31	.12	.25	.44	1.0				
II2	There is no ethnic group with which I can identify	.17	.17	.39	.24	.28	.18	.31	.37	.49	1.0			
II3	I don't feel emotionally attached to any group	-.07	-.02	.15	.06	.14	.04	.12	.11	.30	.30	1.0		
II4	When I think which group I mostly act or think ...	.20	.22	.36	.31	.28	.18	.27	.35	.40	.49	.17	1.0	
II5	No one ethnic group label accurately describes me	.21	.32	.36	.32	.26	.10	.20	.36	.39	.32	.19	.37	1.0

Table 14

CH Criteria, Risk Factors, ICME, & MC Distributions

	Whole Sample Mean (SD) (n= 446)		CH Group Mean (SD) (n= 35)		Non-CH Group Mean (SD) (n= 412)	
CH Mean & Factors						
CH - 3 Factors (equally weighted)	1.41	(.72)				
CH – Factor 1	1.04	(.82)	2.51	(.42)**	.92	(.72)
CH – Factor 2	1.31	(.88)	2.65	(.56)**	1.20	(.81)
CH – Factor 3	1.87	(1.32)	2.78	(.80)**	1.79	(1.33)
CH Risk Factors & Levels						
Overall Risk Factor	.34	(.39)	.69	(.55)**	.31	(.36)
Cultural Level (4)	.40	(.46)	.67	(.71)*	.38	(.42)
Institutional Level (3)	.30	(.48)	.61	(.65)**	.28	(.45)
Face-to-Face Level (2)	.35	(.49)	.72	(.61)**	.32	(.47)
Individual Level (1)	.29	(.41)	.75	(.56)**	.25	(.37)
ICME Subscales						
Negative Feelings about Indiv. Diff.	1.23	(.72)	1.75	(.70)**	1.18	(.71)
Cross-Cultural Competence	2.23	(.73)	2.63	(.59)**	2.20	(.74)
Deculturation	1.14	(.73)	2.18	(.55)**	1.05	(.67)
Social Advantages	2.50	(.56)	2.49	(.50)	2.50	(.57)
Unique & Misunderstood	1.54	(.78)	2.35	(.65)**	1.47	(.76)
Multilingual	1.28	(1.06)	2.16	(1.16)**	1.21	(1.02)
Cross-Cultural Codeswitching	1.29	(.73)	2.18	(.72)**	1.22	(.68)
Shame & Self-Blame	1.80	(.75)	2.45	(.59)**	1.74	(.73)
Positive Feelings about Indiv. Diff.	2.54	(.69)	2.69	(.60)	2.53	(.70)
Other Variables						
Self-Esteem	3.36	(.50)	3.11	(.61)*	3.39	(.49)
Multiracial Index	1.30	(.52)	1.46	(.66)	1.28	(.50)
Multiethnic Index	2.18	(.93)	1.91	(.89)	2.20	(.93)
Multicultural Index	1.39	(.59)	1.91	(.74)**	1.34	(.56)

* $p < .05$
** $p < .001$

Table 15

Correlations: CH, Risk Factors, ICME, and MC Variables

a.

	CH Factors Variables					Risk Factors Variables				
CH Mean & Factors	Status	Mean	Fac 1	Fac 2	Fac 3	Mean	Lvl 4	Lvl 3	Lvl 2	Lvl 1
CH Status	---									
CH – Mean 3 Factors	.50**	---								
CH – Factor 1	.52**	.78**	---							
CH – Factor 2	.44**	.60**	.47**	---						
CH – Factor 3	.20**	.74**	.33**	.00	---					
CH Risk Factors & Levels										
Overall Risk Factor	.27**	.39**	.49**	.16**	.26**	---				
Cultural Level (4)	.17**	.28**	.35**	.15*	.15**	.79	---			
Institutional Level (3)	.19**	.31**	.41**	.07	.25**	.87	.55	---		
Face-to-Face Level (2)	.22**	.32**	.40**	.10*	.24**	.91	.61	.81	---	
Individual Level (1)	.33**	.42**	.51**	.21**	.24**	.82	.51	.64	.67	---

b.

	CH Factors Variables					Risk Factors Variables				
ICME Subscales	Status	Mean	Fac 1	Fac 2	Fac 3	Mean	Lvl 4	Lvl 3	Lvl 2	Lvl 1
Negative Feelings about Diffs	.21**	.37**	.41**	.26**	.17**	.10*	.06	.11*	.08	.10*
Cross-Cultural Competence	.16**	.32**	.33**	.14*	.23**	.46**	.33**	.36**	.46**	.39**
Deculturation	.42**	.60**	.71**	.61**	.12*	.26**	.21**	.15**	.18**	.32**
Social Advantages	.00	.04	-.04	-.07	.02	.18**	.10*	.12*	.22**	.14*
Unique & Misunderstood	.30**	.42**	.47**	.40**	.12*	.25**	.11*	.21**	.22**	.32**
Multilingual	.24**	.38**	.45**	.14*	.26**	.45**	.23**	.49**	.45**	.37**
Cross-Cultural Codeswitching	.36**	.55**	.57**	.40**	.28**	.21**	.11*	.20**	.17**	.27**
Shame & Self-Blame	.26**	.46**	.44**	.26**	.30**	.20**	.16**	.17**	.18**	.18**
Positive Feelings about Diffs	.06	.20**	.07	.08	.23**	.25**	.22**	.16**	.24**	.23**
Self-Esteem	-.15*	-.26**	-.28**	-.22**	-.12*	-.11*	.04	.10*	-.07	-.19**
MC Variables										
Multiracial Index	.09	.15**	.18**	.12*	.01	.20**	.33**	.06	.15**	.13*
Multicultural Index	.26**	.35**	.45**	.15**	.21**	.84**	.60**	.72**	.81**	.72**
Number of Family Changes										
Languages	-.01	.02	.05	.01	-.01	.15**	.13*	.09	.10*	.20**
	.20**	.22**	.22**	.27**	.02	.63**	.41**	.61**	.64**	.47**
Geographic Relocations:										
Within cities / states										
Cross region / country	.01	-.04	-.06	.05	-.08	.00	.04	.07	.00	.02
Cross countries only	.07	.07	.14*	.04	.02	.32**	.24**	.27**	.30**	.28**
	.11*	.15*	.20**	.06	.10*	.43**	.29**	.41**	.42**	.36**

		IN-GROUP	
		ACCEPTANCE	**REJECTION**
OUT-GROUP	**ACCEPTANCE**	Preference Allocentrism (Smith, 1979) Internalization Stage (Cross, 1971) Transcendental Stage (Thomas, 1971) Multi-ethnic Identity (Poston, 1990) Acculturation Integration (Berry et al., 1992) Biculturalism (LaFromboise et al., 1993) Cultural Incorporation (Mendoza & Martinez, 1981)	Preference Pre-encounter Stage (Cross, 1971) Acculturation Assimilation (Berry et al., 1992) Accomodation (Triandis et al.,1986) Cultural Shift (Mendoza & Martinez, 1981)
	REJECTION	Preference Ethnocentrism (LeVine & Campbell, 1972) Encounter & Imm-Emm Stage (Cross, 1971) Acculturation Separation (Berry et al., 1992) Traditional (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994)	Preference Marginality (Stonequist,1937) Acculturation Marginality (Berry et al., 1992) Cultural Transmutation (Mendoza & Martinez, 1981) Cultural Homelessness (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999)
Cultural Homelessness: All ethnic and cultural groups are the Out-group			

Figure 1. *Conceptual Categorization by Ethnic Group Preference and Acculturation*

RACE / ETHNICITY	*SAME RACE PARENTS*	*2 DIFFERENT RACE PARENTS*	*MULTIPLE RACE PARENTS*
SAME ETHNICITY PARENTS (1 culture at home)	Monoracial/ Monoethnic Example both parents Japanese	NO	NO
2 DIFFERENT ETHNICITY PARENTS (1 or 2 cultures at home)	Monoracial/ Biethnic Example Afro-American & Black-Nigerian	Biracial/ Biethnic Example Afro-American & Japanese	NO
MULTIPLE ETHNICITY PARENTS (1, 2, or + cultures at home)	Monoracial/ Multiethnic Example Italian, Irish & German	Biracial/ Multiethnic Example Afro-American & Chinese-Korean	Multiracial/ Multiethic Example Black-Brazilian & Asian-Spanish

Figure 2. *Categorization by Parental Race and Ethnicity*

Note. Monocultural, bicultural, and multicultural classification is most likely to be influenced by and closely associated with ethnic background; however, it is not necessarily limited to race and ethnicity. There are groups who share a culture based on common identity dimensions (e.g., religion) other than ethnicity.

CULTURES EMPHASIZED AT HOME (regardless of ethnicity)	Family/Social Environment **CULTURE CONSISTENT**	Family/Social Environment **CULTURE INCONSISTENT** (once/in one setting)	Family/Social Environment **CULTURE INCONSISTENT** (> than once)
1 CULTURE	Monocultural	Bicultural	Multicultural
2 CULTURES	Bicultural	Multicultural	Multicultural
MULTIPLE CULTURES	Multicultural	Multicultural	Multicultural

Figure 3. *Categorization by Family and Socio-Cultural Environment*

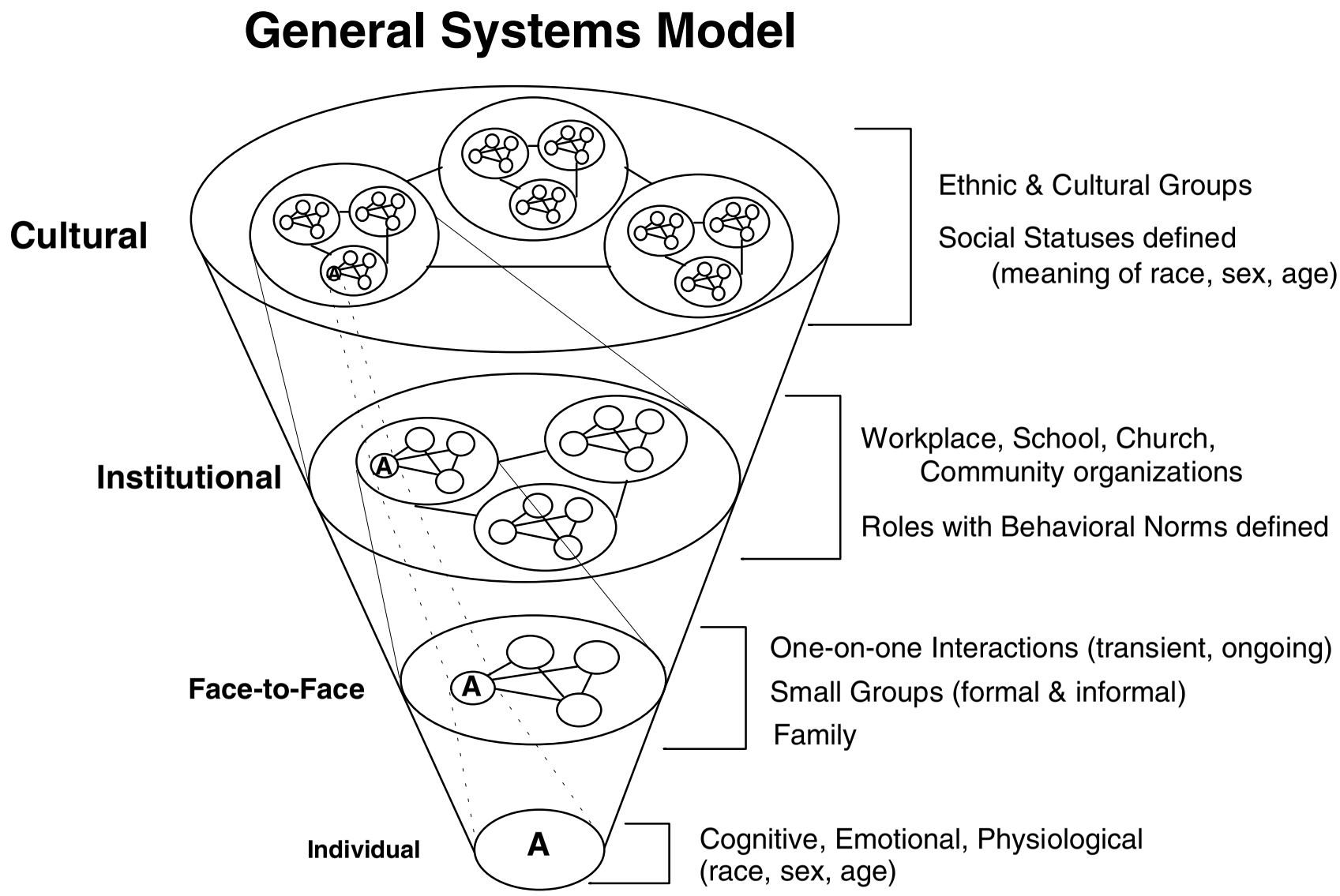

Figure 4. *General Systems Model of Communication*

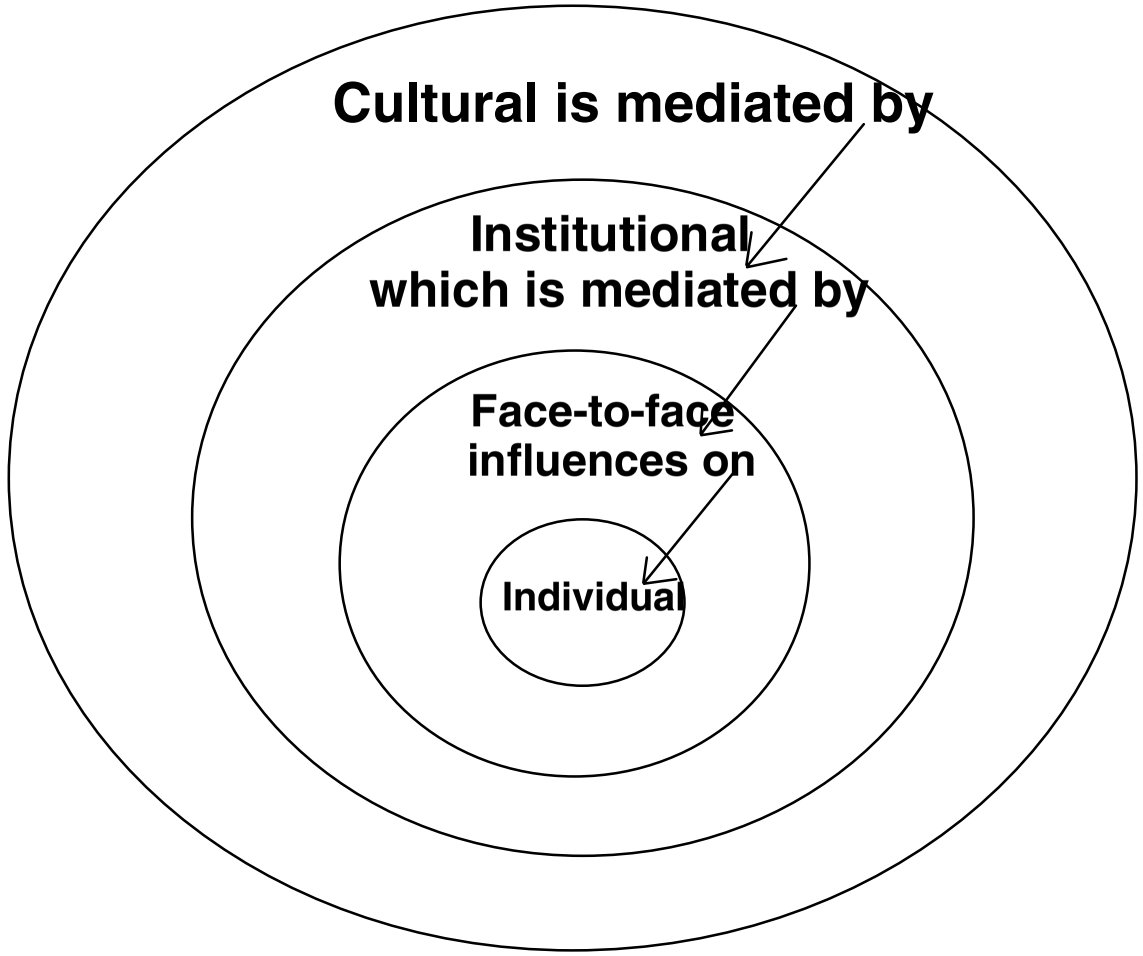

Figure 5. *General Systems Model: Top-Down View*

		COMMITMENT TO IDENTITY IDEALS	
		NO	YES
OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLORE & STRUGGLE	NO	Diffused Identity Status	Foreclosed Identity Status
	YES	Moratorium Identity Status	Achieved Identity Status

Figure 6. *Marcia's Ego Identity Status Model*

APPENDIX B

CODEBOOK OF CATEGORIZATION AND INDICES

GENERAL CODING CRITERIA

Use the following general criteria for coding:

Code **"0"**: for absence of a category

Code **"1"**: for presence of a category

Code **"8"**: when (a) the information given is either inaccurate, it does not respond to the question asked, or the individual says "don't know" and (b) the correct information cannot be somewhat accurately inferred. DO NOT include "blank" answers in this category.

Code **"9"**: when the information is missing regardless of whether it can be accurately inferred or not (unless otherwise specified); code always when the question is left blank.

General Rules:

1. The coding criteria for each particular index or category always supercedes this general criteria. If coding for specific information is unclear, then follow the general coding criteria.

2. If more than one code number or category is applicable, follow the specific rules for the particular index or category.

Abbreviations used:

GPs = Grandparents
MR = MultiRace Index ME = MultiEthnic index MC = MultiCultural
R/E = Race / Ethnicity RA / EA = Race/Ethnic-Accuracy index

DK = Don't Know unkn = unknown missg = Missing Data

Race & Ethnicity code "primarily" according to information given for Parents & Grandparents (GPs), in addition to self-description. The coding of these categories is based on the race(s) and ethnicity(ies) that the individual actually is, regardless of the self-label, categorization, or background information provided, if these are inaccurately reported. Some of the data may need to be inferred from other parts of the protocol such as the CHRiF, grandparents' description, etc.

Race & ethnicity take precedence over nationality, such that Puerto Ricans are coded as race= Hispanic & ethnicity= Central American (does not code for US/Canada unless certain that the race & ethnicity in question is White from "continental" America). Likewise, Native Alaskans & Hawaiians are coded for their respective race/ethnicity, not as US/Canada.

It is extremely important NOT to confuse "ethnicity" with "culture". Individuals who report 2 or 3 ethnicities but include Protestant & Catholic in the parents' ethnicity are NOT biethnic; however, the individual may code as bicultural (definition and coding criteria described below).

The following codes apply to the different racial/ethnic categories, with the **exception** of the **DK** category (specific coding rules for the DK category are described separately).

Code "0" for a particular race/ethnicity if:

1. Race/ethnicity are clearly not part of the GP, parent, nor the individual's background (i.e., Immigrant Parent/GPs, individual= 0 for American, regardless of self-report).

2. Race/ethnicity is mentioned in self-description but it is not part of the individual's racial/ethnic background. i.e., the individual reports Mexican ethnicity because s/he was raised by Mexican nanny; code Mexican ethnicity= 0. However, the individual may code as bicultural.

3. Ethnicity reported stems from geographic moves. i.e., parents and self assume the ethnicity of a country where the family lived for 10 years (probably codes bicultural).

4. If both GPs are immigrant and parent= US born, code American=0 for parent's ethnicity; however, American= 2 for the individual's ethnicity (3rd generation in the US).

Code "1" for a particular race/ethnicity if:

1. Race/ethnicity is stated anywhere in the protocol, regardless of whether it is reported in the correct place. If race is reported under ethnicity &/or vice-versa, code 1 under the correct category (race under race & ethnicity under ethnicity), regardless of definitional accuracy. However, additional indices may also need to be coded.

2. Ethnicity/race are unanswered but they can be clearly inferred from the information given (i.e., Father= Native American, ethnicity= 1 for US/Canada; race= African American, race= 1 for Black; race= Chinese, Asian= 1).

3. Parent & GPs are US born, individual= 1 for American, regardless of parent/GP's racial/ethnic code.

4. One parent is immigrant but the other parent is American; individual= 1 for American ethnicity.

5. Race/ethnicity reported for one generation gets coded for the next generation (GPs→ Parent; Parent→ Individual) whether or not it is specifically mentioned for the next generation (e.g., GP= Irish/American, parent= American→ code parent= Irish/American). However, if the information provided for GPs is not mentioned in parent's description, although it codes for parent it may or may not code for individuals; follow coding rules 6, 7, & 8 for the individual.

(*Rules 6, 7, & 8 apply to Self-Descriptions* ONLY:

6. At least one grandparent is ≥ 50% of a particular race or ethnicity and this is mentioned in the corresponding parent's description.

7. One grandparent is 100% of a race/ethnicity, even if this is not mentioned for the parent.

8. Any two grandparents are each 50% or more of a particular race/ethnicity, and this is the same for both GPs; code for the individual even if this information is not mentioned for the parent. For example, maternal GPs= White & Native American and paternal GPs= Black & Native American, the individual codes Race= Native American, regardless of whether this is mentioned for the parents.

Code "2" for a particular race/ethnicity if:

1. The information is missing or not explicit but could be inferred with some degree of accuracy, but some error is still possible. For example, if both parents and all GPs are White and US born, with an unspecified ethnicity ("White", blank, or unrelated answer), ethnicity can be fairly accurately inferred as American; code ethnicity for US/Canada=2. If Ethnicity= German??? and immigrant, code West Europe=2; ethnicity= "Anglo", code West Europe= 2.

2. If parents and GPs are US born and "American" is omitted but other foreign ethnicity(ies) are listed, code US/Canada=2 for parents ONLY, since it is unclear whether the GPs are actually of American ethnicity or not (GPs ethnicity: US/Canada=8). Also code the corresponding foreign ethnicity=1.

3. GPs are immigrants and parent is US born, individual codes ethnicity= 2 for American (unless the other parent is all American, then American= 1).

DO NOT code "2" for a particular race/ethnicity if:

4. If the information missing is obvious. i.e., Race= African American, code Black=1 under race; race= Japanese, code Asian= 1 under race. However, if the information cannot be obtained/inferred, see rules for coding "8".

Code "3" for a particular race/ethnicity if:

1. Only one grandparent is described as 50% of a particular race/ethnicity, but this is not mentioned in the respective parent's race/ethnicity or self-description. i.e., GP= Native American/Caucasian, Father & individual= Caucasian only. Father's race: Native American= 1; however, the individual's race: Native American= 3.

2. Race/ethnicity is reporte in self-description in a trivial or uncertain manner ("some Native American", "possibly some Jewish"); indicating that this not an essential part of the individual's identity. **ALSO** the race/ethnicity is not mentioned for parent or GP (individual adds race/ ethnicity without specifying the origin **anywhere** in the protocol). i.e., individual's race= White "with some Native American" but neither GPs or parent are described as Native American; code race= 3 for Native American and ethnicity= 3 for tribe.

Code "8" for a particular race/ethnicity if:

1. The information provided is unclear, contradictory, or suspected invalid for some reason; whether in the race/ ethnicity information or from other parts of the protocol. For example, race= Caucasian & ethnicity= Native American (or tribe, or American Indian); code Caucasian= 8 for race since it is unclear whether this constitutes both races or whether it is a definitional error.

2. The individual provides some kind of answer, indicating in some form that s/he is uncertain regarding the information provided or says "don't know", and the information cannot be accurately inferred (ethnicity= German???, parent/GPs all US born, code W. European= 8; American Indian???, code tribe= 8, but American= 1).

3. The answer provided is unrelated to race/ethnicity (e.g., Baptist, mutt, mix, Human, etc.) and no other information is provided. e.g., race= White, ethnicity= "mix" for parent & GPs; code US/Canada= 8 for GPs ONLY (parents code US/Canada= 2). **DO NOT** code if the information can be somewhat accurately inferred.

4. The answer provided does not respond the question; i.e., ethnicity is answered with race or vice-versa and the accurate information cannot be obtained elsewhere in the protocol. For example, if race= African and no other information is given, code race as: Black= 8, White= 8; if race & ethnicity= American, code race for DK=8.

5. If GPs are US born and "American" is omitted but other foreign ethnicity(ies) are listed, code US/Canada=8 for GPs, since it is unclear whether they are actually of American ethnicity or not (code the foreign ethnicity= 1).

DO NOT code "8" for a particular race/ethnicity if:

6. The information can be somewhat accurately inferred (i.e., African American under race, code Black= 1; White under ethnicity, code US/Canada=2).

7. The answer is left blank (codes 9).

Code "9" for a particular race/ethnicity if:

1. The individual is not conveying any information regarding his/her knowledge of the answer. A determination of the accuracy/knowledge of this information cannot be made. The answer may imply that the individual may be unaware of not knowing this information.
   i.e., Parent's race= White, ethnicity= German/Cherokee; GPs' race= White, ethnicity= Blank or DK; code GPs race=9 for Native American since there is no indication of which GP is Native American and "White" seems to be a conceptual error, based on parent's information (White/Cherokee).

2. The information is missing and cannot be accurately inferred (i.e., race= Caucasian, ethnicity= Native American, code tribe/sub-group= 9, DK= 9).

3. The answer is left blank. Code 9 under the category that is the most likely choice but cannot be accurately inferred. For example, parent's race= Black and GPs' race= (blank), code GPs' race= 9 under Black. However, if both parents & all GPs are US born and the CHRiF is "0" for dominant society, then ethnicity= (blank) codes 2 for US/Canada and race= (blank) codes 2 for White; although the information is missing it can be inferred as "White American" with a fairly high degree of accuracy.

DO NOT code "9" for a particular race/ethnicity if:

4. The information can be accurately inferred. Race= Chinese codes Asian= 1 under race, since this information is not missing.

Race/Ethnicity DK Category: The purpose of this category is to describe the type of information given by the respondent. It summarizes in a single code whether: (a) the individual provided or not the information and (b) the information coded was taken from the actual response or had to be inferred. This category codes regardless of whether the information could be accurately inferred or not.

Code **DK=0** if:

1. The information provided is complete and accurate, whether or not it's in the appropriate place (ethnicity may be in race, as long as race is also provided; individual's race/ ethnicity is provided through parents & GPs information).

Code **DK=1** if:

1. There is clear indication that the information is unknown; the individual expresses not knowing the data asked. e.g., "Don't Know", "???", etc.

Code **DK=9** if:

1. There are unanswered questions regarding race, ethnicity, &/or subgroup; including responses left blank or answers that are unrelated to the question (e.g., "mutt"), and do not address race/ethnicity (e.g., "mix").

2. The information provided is of questionnable validity &/or inaccurate. i.e., race= Caucasian & ethnicity= American indian, code DK(race)= 9 since it's not clear whether "Caucasian" is accurate information (biracial) or a definitional error (Native American mis-labeled as White).

3. The ethnicity provided is non-specific or vague, such as "American Indian" (DK=9, tribe=9); "European" or "Anglo" (DK=9, W. Europe=2); "Latino/a" (DK=9; Hispanic ethn=1); "WASP" as ethnicity codes DK(ethnicity)=9; "WASP" as race codes DK(race)=0.

4. The information provided shows that the individual has 2 or more races/ethnicities, but at leat one of these is omitted. i.e., Race= White, ethnicity= Cherokee/American; code DK(race)=9 since Native American is missing.

5. Race/ethnicity is not answered for GPs, parents, or self. If parent & GPs are US born but ethnicity= "don't know" or (blank), code American= 1, DK=9.

Code **DK=9** regardless of whether:

1. The information could be accurately inferred or not. If, for example, race & ethnicity= Korean, code Asian= 1 for race; however, DK(race)= 9, since this information was inferred, not provided. Race/ethnicity= White codes DK(ethnicity)= 9 since ethnicity has not been answered.

2. The particular race or ethnicity was coded as 1,2, or 9. Race= (blank) and ethnicity= White, codes DK(race)= 0 & DK(ethnicity)= 9, since ethnicity is the missing data.

To know which category codes for DK=9, ask the following:

a. "Have **ALL** race(s) been reported in the answer provided (even if not in the appropriate place)?"
If *NO*: code DK(race)= 9

b. "Have **ALL** ethnicity(ies) been reported in the answer provided (even if not in the appropriate place)?"
If *NO*: code DK(ethnicity)= 9

DO NOT code **DK=9** (missing data) if:

3. "American" is omitted for everyone and is the only ethnicity missing (other ethnicities are listed), unless there are other omissions.

4. Individual's race/ethnicity= "don't know" or (blank), but these are answered for the parents & GPs. However, if these information has to be inferred (i.e., parents are US born, but their ethnicity= "don't know") or remains unanswered, code DK=9.

5. Race/ethnicity is coded "3" and no more information is given (i.e., Race= White with some Native American; code tribe=3, DK=0 unless there are other omissions).

RACE. Double codes ONLY if the individual is clearly biracial by parentage

Black= Everyone reporting being Black. DO NOT double code with Hispanic if the individual is from Brazil or the Caribbean; this is considered a single race. However, if the individual reports being Brazilian (or Puerto Rican) Black & White then double code for Black & Hispanic. Black takes precedence over Hispanic

Asian**(a)**= Everyone reporting as Asian. DO NOT double code "Asian-American" as Asian & White unless one of the parents or GPs is White, even if they have all been born in the US. However, the person may be bicultural (check other information)

Hispanic= Everyone from Mexico, Central America & South America. Individuals from Spain are considered White and not Hispanics, despite their language similarity

Native Am.= Everyone from Alaska as well as the continental US, reporting either a Native American race or a tribe as ethnicity. Individuals who answer "Cherokee" but do not report "Native American" or "American Indian" still code for this race. People who only report "Indian" and have both parents & GPs born in the US are considered Native Americans; however, it should be coded as "2".

White/Cauc**(b)**= Everyone reporting White race unless they specify belonging to a country/region that is not typically considered White under US definitions. Individual who report being White and So. American are coded as Hispanic, since this is their classification in the US.

"American"= Codes 1 only when the answer includes the word "American"; DO NOT double code with "responds with ethnicity" category. DO NOT code if the word "American" is part of a racial/ethnic label (i.e. African American, Native American, American Indian). However, DO code if the answer is "Black American", "Caucasian American", "Asian American".

(ethnicity)= Individual responds to race with ethnicity.

"Human"= The answer includes the words "Human"; double code with corresponding ethnicity derived from Parents & Grandparents.

Other**(c)**= Any other category not mentioned above; however, DO NOT code for answers that are not "true" races, such as religion, woman, proud, "mutt", etc.

DK= This index can only be coded 0, 1, 2, or 9; it **CANNOT** be coded 8 (8 & 9 are coded as 9). It codes when Race is somehow left unanswered by saying "Don't Know" or "???", being left blank, responding with answers unrelated to race, or by providing information that is ambiguous &/or inaccurate. See above for specific coding rules.

(a)= For Hindu territory code Other=1 in addition to Asian

(b)= For Middle-East individuals code Other=1 in addition to White

(c)= For native indians other than Native Americans (i.e., native Brazilian indian) code the corresponding race & Other

ETHNICITY.

US/Canada= All individuals w/ at least one GP 50% American/ Canadian, regardless of race; including "American" and "hyphenated-Americans". Include individuals from the "continental" US/Canada only.

Alaska= Native Alaskan; do not double code for US/Canada unless individual is also Continental American

Mexico= Mexican origin (1 GP= 50%); unspecified "Latino/a"

C. America= N of Venezuela/ S of Mexico, including Puerto Rico

So.America= Venezuela - Chile; including Antarctica

W.European= Western Europe, include: UK, Iberian (Portugal, Spain) & Low countries; "European"; "Anglo"

E.European= All countries East of Autria & Germany, including European Russia, Slavik & Slovak countries, & Greece.

Middle-East= So of the Black & Caspian Seas, and East of the Red Sea: Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, Iraq, & Iran

Asia= Asian Russia, mainland China, Taiwan, Japan, Korea

So/SE Asia= Hindu territory (India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh) & everything So of China: Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore

Africa= Whole continent, including Egypt

Pacific Is.= No & So Pacific: Polynesia, Hawaii, Phillipines, Easter Island; including Australia, New Guinea, New Zealand.

Jewish= Jewish (typically double codes with nationality, if known)

Tribe/subgr= Code for particular subgroup or tribe, distinctive from nationality (i.e., Navajo, Apache, Cajun, Welsh, Celtic, Basque, etc.) Double codes with national ethnicity (American, Kenyan, Korean). Code ONLY for normally recognized ethnicities, not for subcultures that are not a true ethnicity such as Southerner, Texan, any religion, gender, etc.

(race)= Individual responds to ethnicity with race.

"Human"= The answer includes the words "Human"; double code with corresponding ethnicity derived from Parents & GPs.

Other= Other categories not mentioned above; include here subgroups that are questionable as ethnicities or cultures (Texan, Southerner, etc.) However, DO NOT code for: "mutt", woman, proud, etc.

DK= Refer to DK category described in race.

Examples of **Race, Ethnicity,** and **DK** category coding:

Race	**Ethnicity**	**U.S. born Status**	**Code**	**DK Index**
Caucasian	German???	Immigrant	US/Canada=0 W.Europe =2	 DK=1
Caucasian	German???	P/GP= US	US/Canada=2 W.Europe =8	 DK=1
Caucasian	Native Am.	P/GP= US	US/Canada=1 Tribe=9	 DK=9
Caucasian	Blank,"mutt"	P/GPs= US	US/Canada=2	DK=9
Caucasian	Blank,"mutt"	Unknown	US/Canada=8	DK=9
Caucasian	"Don't Know"	P/GPs= US Parents: GPs:	 US/Canada=2 US/Canada=8	 DK=1 DK=1
Caucasian	Irish/Scotish	P/GP= US Parents: GPs:	 US/Canada=2 US/Canada=8	 DK=0 DK=0
Black/White	African Amer.	P/GP= US	US/Canada=1	DK=0

Note.

1. If "American" is omitted for "everyone", the decision between coding DK= 0 vs. 9 is based on whether the individual "knows" his grandparents ethnicities but does not consider "American" a valid ethnicity (DK=0) vs. not knowing where the grandparents come from and failing to report this (DK=9).

2. This is not an exhaustive list of ethnicity categories that may need to be coded; i.e., answering "White" for ethnicity codes "responds w/race"= 1, which is not included in these examples.

Mono, Bi, Multi, Race and Ethnic Status (MR/ME Index).

These indices are coded from the individual's actual race/ ethnicity, as opposed to their self-reported race/ethnicity. Include in these indices the number of races and ethnicities that the individual and parents have (which may differ from what is reported), based on parents and GPs information. The multi-race/ ethnic status is also coded from the information inferred from other responses in the protocol such as family structure, family changes, CHRiF, immigration status, etc. It may be more difficult to determine multi-race/ethnicity status for GPs and a code of "9" (unknown) may be warranted; however, GPs' status is the least crucial.

Basic Coding Rules:

1. These indices CANNOT be "0"; they must be 1, 2, 3, or 9.

2. A bi- or multi-racial individual is ALWAYS bi- or multi-ethnic, respectively, even when the other ethnicities are not mentioned; however, a bi- or multi-ethnic individual (Irish-German) could be monoracial (White) if all of the mentioned ethnicities clearly belong to one race.

3. Add 1 to the ME index when US/Canada is coded as 1 or 2 under ethnicity, but NOT when coded as 8. For example, parent & GP are reported as German and US born. Parent codes US/Canada=2, W.Europe=1, ME index=2; GP codes US/Canada=8, W. Europe=1, ME index=1.

4. If a parent and corresponding GPs are described as White race, unspecified ethnicity ("White", blank, or unrelated answer), and US born assume that they are White American; code MR index= 1 & ME index= 1.

5. Add 1 to the parent's ethnicity if the corresponding GP is an immigrant, regardless of whether or not the ethnicity is specified (DO NOT count twice if the ethnicity is mentioned).

Code MR/ME index as "9" (unknown) if:

6. Race/ethnicity cannot be determined based on the data provided for GPs. For example, parent's race= White, ethnicity= unspecified (blank or unrelated answer), and GPs are immigrants or non-US born; code MR index= 1 & ME index= 9, for both parent & GPs.

7. If GPs' response to race/ethnicity is "Don't Know", except when this information can be obtained from somewhere else in the protocol (i.e., family structure mentions that GP immigrated from Germany, etc.). In general, if race= White and ethnicity= "don't know", code ME index= 9. If parent's race/ethnicity= "don't know", then follow coding rule 3.

8. If the ONLY race/ethnicity coded for someone (individual, parent, or GP) is 8.

DO include in these indices' count:

1. All races and ethnicities coded as 1 or 2, but not 8.

2. Races/ethnicities coded as 9, when these can be accurately inferred as a distinct ethnicity; i.e., a White/Native American with ethnicity coded US/Canada= 1, tribe= 9 counts as 2 ethnicities.

3. Particular subgroups with a distinctive cultural and institutional organization based on race, and which is different from the culture of other people of the same nationality. Such groups may include: Cajun, Gaelic, Celtic, specific Native-American tribes, African-American, etc., since these groups are organized along racial lines and have a specific ethnic culture that distinguishes them from others of the same nationality (i.e, Cajun vs. non-Cajun, White-American).

DO NOT include in these indices' count:

1. Race/Ethnicities that stem from geographic moves. i.e., Hispanic (or Mexican) because the individual lived in South Texas and learned Spanish, celebrated Mexican holidays, etc.; Italian, because s/he lived in Italy for 15 years, even if Italian ethnicity is mentioned. These factors need to be considered when coding multicultural status, since they probably have an impact on culture.

2. Individuals who report themselves as minority-American when the parents are clearly not Americans (i.e., both parents are Immigrants). For example, someone with two Chinese parents reporting ethnicity as "Chinese-American" only codes for one ethnicity: Chinese; however, this individual may be bicultural, especially if immigration started with the GPs and both parents are US born.

3. Subgroups which denote a culture not particularly distinctive from other "White Americans", and/or that are not organized along racial lines; these are not considered ethnicities. This includes any religion (except Jewish), regional subcultures and labels such as Southerner, Texan, etc.

When these indices are ambiguous and/or unclear, determine how the individual considers him/herself by:

1. Examining whether the race/ethnicity in question is mentioned for any of the parents.

2. Looking at the CHRIF (pg. 3), questions 1 & 2 and how these are rated.

3. Whether parents &/or GPs immigrated vs. US born; whether the individual spoke in different languages with family members of the race/ethnicity in question; whether an immigrant GP lived in the household; etc.

4. If within the family structure there are step-/adoptive parents mentioned the determination is to be made according to whether the individual was "socialized into that ethnicity early on in childhood (i.e., was born into an adoptive family; had a step-father at age 2); otherwise, certain family structure changes or influences may code for culture but not ethnicity. If a child is adopted into a family of different ethnicity, the child is likely to be biethnic; also biracial if of different race.

Coding example. African-American (or any other hypenated-American) ethnicity could derive from:

(a) 2 Black-American parents
Code: Race=Black; Ethnicity=American
monoracial (MR Index=1); monoethnic (ME Index=1)

(b) 1 Black-African parent; 1 Black-American parent
Code: Race=Black; Ethnicity=African & American
monoracial (MR Index=1); biethnic (ME Index=2)

(c) 1 Black-American parent; 1 White-American parent
Code: Race=Black & White; Ethnicity=American
biracial (MR Index=2); biethnic (ME Index=2)

(d) 1 Bl or Wh-African parent; 1 Bl/Wh-American parent
Code: Race=Black & White; Ethnicity=African & American
biracial (MR Index=2); biethnic (ME Index=2)

Mono, Bi, Multi Cultural Index.

A bi/multethnic individual may or may not be bi/multicultural, depending on the environment &/or situation where s/he was reared. When the multiethnic status index is ambiguous or when it is unclear whether the individual may have been raised in more than one culture (regardless of ethnicity) try to determine what might have had more influence on the person's upbringing. Also, consider which ethnic culture may have had an influence (if any) in their lives by:

1. Looking at the information provided for family structure. If a person reports significant influence from a different ethnicity individual such as nanny &/or boarder, etc. for an extended period of time (i.e., 5-10 yrs) then the person might be bicultural, especially if s/he spoke a different language with that person. This may include individuals with step-parents/siblings of an ethnicity different from that of the individual.

2. If the individual reports living in a place different from their original culture, such as with cross-countries moves, from an extended period of time then the individual may be bi- or multi-cultural. However, geo moves DO NOT automatically qualify someone as bi- or multi-cultural, since they may have had little or no contact with the foreign environment; look at CHRiF for supporting evidence (i.e., my family's culture was different from the environment's culture, etc.)

3. If the information provided indicates that the individual lived &/or was raised in a place/environment where s/he was clearly a numerical minority (regardless of race), then the individual may be bicultural ONLY if they report significant influence from the environment (i.e., a White person living in El Paso reporting that they had to learn Spanish because most of their friends spoke Spanish; they may also report that they celebrated both cultures' holidays).

4. A racial minority individual adopted into an all White family will continue to be their birth-race and probably considered biethnic: (1) the biological parents' ethnicity (since being a racial minority will likely expose him/her to the stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination that are typically associated with minority status), and (2) the adoptive family's ethnicity(ies), since they will likely be socialized into that ethnicity. However, the individual will be monocultural if s/he is raised in an all White-American culture; or bicultural if some of his/her biological parents' ethnicity is preserved (i.e., attends Korean school; learns to speak parents' language; etc.)

5. Religions listed under ethnicity, paticularly if both parents' religions are different, regardless of race and ethnicity (i.e., father = White/Jehova's Witness; mother = White/ Baptist) may be considered as culture(s) depending on the CHRiF and who lived in the household.

6. Look at labels such as Southerner, Texan, &/or other regional culture indicators to determine multicultural status. An individual who describes him/herself or his/ her parents as "Southern Baptist" and "Jewish" is likely to qualify as bicultural. Look for supportive data, such as the CHRiF and who lived in the household.

Race/Ethnicity Accuracy Index (for self-description):

1 = Accurate information is provided regarding race/ethnicity, without additions or repetitions

2 = Fairly accurate race/ethnicity information provided; however, there are additional or repetitive descriptors. Additional descriptors include: Female, proud, religion, human, etc. Repetitions include synonymous words: White/Caucasian, Anglo-Saxon/American/WASP, etc.

3 = Evades question by providing an unrelated answer, such as human, proud, non-prejudice & involved, etc. without providing any other self-description.

4 = Inaccurate description of race/ethnicity; the inaccuracy stems from a definitional misinformation (i.e., responds with ethnicicty on race or vice-versa, reports gender or religion only, etc.)

5 = Omits dominant race/ethnicity information; this information is inferred from race and ethnicity provided for parents and GPs. DO NOT code if "American" is omitted for everyone (GPs, parents, & self).

6 = Omits minority race/ethnicity information; this information is inferred from race and ethnicity provided for parents and GPs.

7 = Response is blank or very vague (e.g., "mutt", "DK", etc.)

8 = race/ethnicity reported in self-description is not found in either parents nor GPs.

9 = This information is unknown and unable to be inferred

Race/Ethnicity Accuracy Index (for parents):

1 = Accurate information is provided regarding parents' race/ ethnicity

4 = Inaccurate description of race/ethnicity; the inaccuracy stems from a definitional misinformation (responds to race with ethnicity or vice-versa; reports gender or religion only for race and/or ethnicity, etc.)

5 = Omits any race/ethnicity included in the corresponding grandparents' descriptions (i.e., GP= Black/Native Am. and parent= Black only). <u>DO NOT</u> code this if "American" is omitted for both parent & corresponding GP.

7 = Response is blank or very vague, for both parent and corresponding GPs (e.g., "mutt", "DK", etc.)

9 = This information is unknown due to a mix of "don't know" and some information provided for GPs &/or corresponding parent, but not sufficient to code accurately.

The object of the **Race & Ethnicity Accuracy Indices** (RA/EA) is to obtain the most information possible regarding the inaccuracies of race/ ethnic self-label. These indices are intended to reflect the extent to which the information coded was provided vs. had to be inferred from other parts of the protocol. The coding of these indices is based on the differences between the information given and the information &/or categorization in which the person was actually coded.

Basic Coding Rules:

1. Individual's RA/EA indices = 2 digits each index; parents = 1 digit each index; GP's **always** code "9", both indices.

2. Code=0 (N/A) applies **ONLY** to the individual. Can code **ONLY** as the 2nd digit; never the 1st (i.e., 10 not 01).

3. If applicable, code 5 &/or 6 regardless of whether the omitted race/ethnicity meets the criteria to code as the individual's race/ethnicity.

4. Do not code accuracy index for omission (5/6) if the race in question is mentioned under ethnicity, or vice-versa.

5. If a Caucasian individual omits "American" or an African American omits "Black", it probably codes= 4 vs. 5 or 6, but only if this is clearly a definitional error (race & ethnicity= "White"; race= African American; etc.)

6. Code 5/6 if race/ethnicity is accurately mentioned for Parent &/or GP and there is no indication of definitional difficulty. For example: father described as Irish-French & American and mother as Jewish-German & American, but the self-description omits American; code ethnic-accuracy= 5 (omits majority ethnicity).

7. For the individual: ALWAYS code "7" if race/ethnicity is not answered at all (left blank), not for omission (5/6). However, code "7" for parents only if both parent and corresponding GP's are blank; if the info is unknown, code 9 (see next page for examples).

8. If an ethnicity is reported (e.g., Cherokee) for parent/GP but the corresponding race (Native American) is missing, code RA for definitional error (RA=4; EA=1) and not for omission, unless there is another omission. If race and ethnicity= Japanese but Asian is not mentioned, RA=4/EA=1.

9. Since these codes are mutually exclusive, if more than one (for parents/GPs) or two (for individuals) code(s) applies use the priority sequence specified below. (also follow rule #10 when coding the individual.)

Coding Priority for Race-Accuracy index:

For individuals of the dominant race**(a)**: 7, 6, 5, 4, 8, 2, 9

For individuals of any minority race**(a)**: 7, 5, 6, 4, 8, 2, 9

Coding Priority for Ethnic-Accuracy index:

For individuals of the dominant ethnicity**(a)**: 7, 6, 4, 8, 2, 5, 9

(If 6 already coded for race, then: 4, 6)

For individuals of any minority ethnicity**(a)**: 7, 5, 4, 8, 2, 6, 9

(If 5 already coded for race, then: 4, 5)

10. If 2 codes apply to the individual, **ALWAYS** code in ascending numerical sequence, regardless of the priority sequence described above (with the exeption of rule #2). i.e., if codes 5 & 2 apply → code as 25, although the priority sequence may be 5 & 2.

11. Since both indices (RA & EA) are closely related, certain exceptions apply to the above sequence:

a. Avoid assigning the same code to both indices if more than one code applies. For example: if both race and ethnicity are reported as "Caucasian American Proud Christian Woman", both indices should be coded as "4" (if there are no race/ethnicity omissions); however, code race-accuracy=4 and ethnic-accuracy=2 because additional descriptors have been used.

b. If both race and ethnicity qualify to code for "omission" (5 or 6) code only race omission and use another code (typically 4 or 2) for ethnicity, if applicable. If no other code is applicable then also code ethnicity omission.

Examples:	**Race/Ethnicity**	**Parents' Accuracy Index**
Parent One GP One GP	accurate info information information	1 - accurate
Parent GP	Caucasian/Sioux Caucasian/Sioux	4 - Definitional
Parent Both GPs	blank or DK information	5 - omission
Parent One GP One GP	blank or DK blank or DK information	5 - omission
Parent Both GPs	blank or DK blank or DK	7 - no answer
Parent Both GPs	information blank or DK(b)	9 - unknown
Parent One GP One GP	information information blank or DK(b)	9 - unknown

(a) To determine whether an individual is dominant/minority race/ethnicity look at parents' immigration status and where the individual was raised. i.e., a Puerto Rican individual whose parents have not immigrated to the US and grew up in Puerto Rico is considered of the dominant race/ ethnicity, if they report being White/Puerto Rican. Use the coding sequence outlined for dominant race/ethnicity.

(b) If the missing data can be inferred from other information provided in the protocol, code according to the inferred information.

Religion Mentioned Index:

0 = Religion is not mentioned at all as part of self-, parents', or GP's description, under race nor ethnicity.

1 = Religion is mentioned as part of the individual's racial or ethnic self-description.

2 = Religion is mentioned as part of the parent(s) and/or GPs' racial/ethnic description.

General Rules:

1. Religion mentioned in self-description always takes precedence. If religion is included as part of both self-description (1) and parent information (2), code 1.

2. "Jewish" needs a determination of whether it is mentioned as an ethnicity only, a religion, or both. For example, father is reported as Jewish and GPs= Jewish/Catholic, which codes for religion= 2 vs. GPs described as "German-Jewish", which codes as 0. If the determination is unclear, DO NOT code this index. (Note: regardless of how it's coded in this index, "Jewish" ALWAYS codes as an ethnicity).

PARENTS' OCCUPATION

Code Father's / Mother's occupation as follows:

0= Individuals who are currently not receiving payment for their work and/or are not working; these individuals have the "potential" to be gainfully employed or to perform a job, whether paid or unpaid. Code in this category: unemployed, housewife, disabled, retired, etc.

1-7= Follow Hollingshead' categories coding

8= Some kind of information has been reported; however, it's useless. For example, self-employed (w/o specification), deceased, "Don't Know", "odd-jobs", illegible response, "N/A", etc.

9 = (blank)

General Rules:

1. If two occupations are reported for one individual, code the one with highest "status" (i.e., highest Hollingshead category; "0" or "8" as last resort; etc.).

2. If a dead, unemployed, &/or retired parent (any occupation that typically codes for "0" or "8") is described with another occupation prior to his/her death, unemployment, or retirement, code the last gainfully employed occupation instead of "0" or "8". For example, if mother is reported as housewife, but prior employment as Bank manager, code for Bank manager not housewife.

3. If both "0" & "8" apply to the same individual, "0" always takes precedence.

FAMILY CHANGES

This index is designed to estimate (if possible) which and how much of the individual's responses can be accounted for by changes in his/her family structure, as opposed to the direct effects of race/ethnicity per se. When making an "estimated" count of family changes, consider the following responses from the "General Demographics Questionnaire" (pp. 1-2), and add 1 to the number of family structure changes if these are applicable.

DO include in this index's count (add 1 for each):

1. Parents reported as divorced (Q.7). If parent they lived with is "married" but the other parent is divorced or single, count as 2 changes (divorce=1, remarriage=1)

2. Step-parent mentioned as part of the household (Q.16)

3. Reports step-siblings (in addition to 2)

4. Add 1 for EACH half-sibling reported; if 2 has not been reported also add 1 for step-parent.

5. Add 1 if an adopted sibling is reported

6. Nannies/boarders mentioned as part of the household for an extended period of time ($\geq$ 1 year)

7. GPs living at home, since typically GPs become an addition to the household after the older children are born; also it is reasonable to assume inter-generational tensions.

8. Any mention of other family members, that are normally considered as part of the extended family, living in the household (i.e., nephew, aunt, etc.)

DO NOT include in this index's count:

1. Geographic moves, since these are counted separately

2. Other reported or inferred changes that may not have either a significant effect on the individual's life or the effect of which is unclear.

GEOGRAPHIC MOVES

Assign one "pair" of codes for each geographic move, up to 15 moves; do not code the actual numerical count of moves in these numbers. Codes are as follows:

Geo Movetype:	**Age Codes:**
0= none	0=no moves
1= b/n neighbor cities	1= ≤4
2= w/in state/region	2= 5-10
3= b/n regions	3= 11-13
4= X-Country	4= 14-16
5= other	5= 17-20
	6= ≥21
8= unclear, unknown	8= unclear, unknown
9= blank	9= blank

US REGIONS:
These regions are coded according to the Getis (1995) "Culture regions of the United States". A geographic relocation is coded as "between regions" (3) if the individual reports moving across any of the following 10 regions.:

1. *Northwest:* Washington State, Oregon
2. *Pacific Coast:* California
3. *Mountains:* Montana, Idaho, Nevada, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado
4. *Southwest:* Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma
5. *Prairie Belt:* North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin
6. *Midwest:* Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio
7. *Country South:* Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina
8. *Southeast:* Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina
9. *Northeast:* New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine
10. *Megalopolis:* Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland

NOTE: Alaska and Hawaii are coded as Cross-country geographic moves (4)

CODING DIFFICULTY INDICES

Questionnaires with any kind of ambiguous information and/or difficult to classify; at least 2 people involved in the decision-making process and/or a somewhat arbitrary decision had to be made. The difficulty may stem from:

Insufficient/Incomplete information.

Not enough information was provided to make an easy classification or count and arbitrary decisions were made; this protocol may contribute significantly to the overall error variance. The missing information cannot be inferred from other info provided. Any difficulty detected in a particular area (described below) double codes with this one if the codes threaten the validity of the protocol and/or is a potential source of significant error variance.

Inaccurate Information/"Recovered" Omissions.

Inconsistencies and/or omissions of critical information were noted during the coding. For example the individual reports being Black/Hispanic but neither of the parents or grandparents are reported as Black; individual reports two races (Black & Native American) but one ethnicity (Cherokee) and additional information is not provided for the parents or GP; two ethnicities of different race (Mexican & German) but only one race (Caucasian); etc. An example of a "recovered" omission would be if age of goe move is not provided but the individual specifies how long s/he lived in each place; the goe move age can then be calculated. Protocols with these kinds of errors require further study of other information, such as the CHRiF, Geo moves, languages spoken, etc. to make coding decisions; however, somewhat accurate coding was possible. This protocol is not expected to contribute significantly to the error variance, any more than a "no difficulty" protocol. This code double codes with the specific area of difficulty.

Difficult Race/ethnicity information.

Some arbitrary decision had to be made regarding race &/or ethnicity due to the complexity of the individual's situation. For example, a large mix of ethnicities & races are reported, but the individual defines him/herself as a single race/ethnicity and the CHRiF shows that they consider their family as not-different from the dominant society; in addition, both parents and all grandparents have been born in the US and there are no cross-country moves. A mono-ethnic &/or mono-race code was assigned, despite the multiple race/ethnicities reported.

Difficult Geographic Moves.

Coding difficulties stem from several geographic moves that are unclear regarding the age of move or other lack of information; however, the difficulty does not threaten the validity of the information being coded.

Difficult Family Structure/Changes.

Additional information regarding changes in family structure may be needed to determine with more accuracy whether the individual is mono-, bi-, multi-ethnic. For example, there is significant information provided for step- or adoptive parents that may change the individual's status from mono-ethnic to bi-ethnic, such as speaking a different language with step-father since age 2. A determination of mono- vs. bi-ethnic status was made based on languages spoken, geo moves, and/or the CHRiF.

Other

Any other area of difficulty that was detected in this protocol.

Content Analysis Index:

Code "1" in this position for any questionnaire where further CA may reveal more information and/or distinguishes from most other questionnaires. See below for content analysis categories and criteria.

Card 5 **PARENTS' OCCUPATION**

Hollingshead coding

0= unemployed; housewife; student; disabled; retired
1-7= Code according to Hollingshead
8 = uncodeable; invalid; self-employed; deceased; "Don't Know"; "odd-jobs"; illegible
9 = (blank)

Col 35 **Col. 36**

Family Changes # Lang < 14

0= none
1-8= #changes
9= unknown

GEOGRAPHIC MOVES

(Col 40-69)

Geo Movetype:	**Age Codes:**
0= none	0=no moves
1= b/n neighbor cities	1= ≤4
2= w/in state/region	2= 5-10
3= b/n regions	3= 11-13
4= X-Country	4= 14-16
5= other	5= 17-20
	6= ≥21
8= unclear, unknown	8= unclear, unknown
9= blank	9= blank

Col (0= no; 1= yes)

71= MC Index → 1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unknown
72= Insufficient info/ Bad protocol
73= Inaccurate but recoverable info

Difficulty was in:

74= Race/Ethnicity
75= Geo moves
76= Family changes/Situation
77= MC Status
78= Other
79= Needs C.A.

CODING SUMMARY FOR INDIVIDUAL'S INFORMATION

Race	*Ethnicity*
42=Black	57=US/Canada
43=Asian	58=Mexico
44=Hisp	59=C. America
45=Native Am.	60=So.America
46=W/Cauc	61=W.Europe
47=American	62=E.Europe
48=(ethnicity)	63=Africa
49=Human	64=Mid-East
50=Other	65=Asia
51=DK	66=So/SE Asia
	67=Pacific Is.
	68=Jewish
	69=tribe/subgr
	70=(race)
	71=Human
	72=Other
	73=DK

Race/Ethnic Accuracy - Self-description (2 codes/ascending order)

1= Accurate Description
2= Accurate w/ additions &/or repetitions
3= Evades question; responds w/o giving info asked
4= Inaccurate w/definitional Error
5= Omits dominant race/ethnicity given for parent/GP
6= Omits minority race/ethnicity given for parent/GP
7= No Answer or very vague
8= reports race/ethnicity not given in P/GPs description
9= Unknown & unable to infer
0= N/A; can **ONLY** be coded as second digit

Religion mentioned:

0= no 1= yes in self-description 2= in P/GPs description

CODING SUMMARY FOR PARENTS / GPs

FATHER/PATERNAL GPs		MOTHER/MATERNAL GPs	
Race	***Ethnicity***	***Race***	***Ethnicity***
7=Black	21=US/Canada	44=Black	58=US/Canada
8=Asian	22=Mexico(a)	45=Asian	59=Mexico(a)
9=Hisp	23=C. Amer.(b)	46=Hisp	60=C. Amer.(b)
10=Native Am.	24=So.Amer.(c)	47=Native Am.	61=So.Amer.(c)
11=W/Cauc	25=W.Europe(a)	48=W/Cauc	62=W.Europe(a)
12=American	26=E.Europe(b)	49=American	63=E.Europe(b)
13=(ethnicity)	27=Africa	50=(ethnicity)	64=Africa
14=Human	28=Mid-East	51=Human	65=Mid-East
15=Other	29=Asia(a)	52=Other	66=Asia(a)
16=DK	30=So/SE Asia(b)	53=DK	67=So/SE Asia(b)
	31=Pacific Is.		68=Pacific Is.
	32=Jewish		69=Jewish
	33=tribe/subgr		70=tribe/subgr
	34=(race)		71=(race)
	35=Human		72=Human
	36=Other		73=Other
	37=DK		74=DK

Race/Ethnic Accuracy - Parents

1= Accurate Description
4= Inaccurate w/definitional Error
5= Omits corresponding Grandparents' race/ethnicity
7= No Answer or very vague
9= Unknown & unable to infer

Immigration Status

0= US born
1= Immigrant
2= Foreign non-imm
9= unknown

CRITERIA FOR CONTENT ANALYSIS

If "Other Info" (card 4, Col. 6) = 1, code card 9 as follows, according to the information provided. **DO NOT** code the same information in two different categories, except when a particular category specifies that it can be double coded.

Col 10 - **SELF-REFERENCE**.

Code this category if the individual provides additional description regarding him/herself. The distinction to be made is whether the information reflects a personal characteristic (proud, open minded, sensitive, positive, proud, average, "mutt", etc.) **CODE 1**; describes the individual in relation with others (non-prejudice, "I don't like people", not sociable, accepting of other cultures, etc.) **CODE 2**; or both **CODE 3**. **DO NOT** code gender, religion, or sexual orientation.

Col 11 thru 20 - **TYPE OF SELF-REFERENCE**.

If Col 10 = 0, then Cols 11-20 **MUST** = 0. If Col 10 > 0, these categories may or may not code, according to the criteria given below. The purpose of these categories is to capture self-descriptions that are particularly relevant to the CH construct. Code **ALL** that apply as follows:

Col 11 = 1 if there is any mention of **PRIDE**; whether it'd be pride in self, family, or ethnic/cultural group. e.g., I am a proud young man; proud Christian woman; proud of my ethnicity; etc. **DO NOT** code if the individual responds "not being proud".

CODE 12 = 1 if **SHAME** in any form is mentioned. e.g., I am ashamed of what my race has done, etc. Note that the individual may mention being proud of self and ashamed of his/her culture/race/ethnicity; in that case both Cols code. **DO NOT** code if the individual responds "not being proud".

CODE 13 = 1 if there is any mention of prejudice or racism.

CODE 14 = 1 if individual responds with **GENDER** to racial/ ethnic self-description

CODE 15 = 1 if individual responds with **RELIGION** (right now this is already coded - leave it blank)

CODE 16 = 1 if individual responds with sexual orientation to racial/ethnic self-description

CODE 17-20 = blank (save for later)

Col 21 **DEVELOPMENTAL IMPACT**.

This category will attempt to capture experiences that may have had a developmental impact upon the individual. Code this category if the subject provides additional information regarding his/her background and/or family history; include family of origin only. This category can double code with the "Self-Description", if the experience described by the individual has a developmental origin and it reflects some personal characteristic (e.g., my mother always taught us to accept other races, that's why I am accepting of other cultures [or non-prejudice], etc.)

CODE 1 if the experience is clearly cultural &/or racial.
e.g. I am a biracial child; my step-father is an ethnic minority; my nanny was [different ethnicity than family]; my best friend in school was Hispanic; I learned [another language] so I could speak with my friend's parents; I had a Korean nanny; my parents raised me non-prejudice (does not double code with self-description since it is unclear whether the person is actually prejudice); my family is prejudice but I try not to be (double codes with self-description); etc.

CODE 2 if either the experiences are clearly not race/ culture related or it is unclear whether they are.
e.g., I am a ward of the state; adopted; I grew up in many different places; "my parents are ..."; "my parents raised me..."; "as I was growing up ..."; individual explains relationship with parents; my parents believe in stereotypes (this codes as 2 unless other explanations/examples make it clearly racial/ cultural); etc.

CODE 3 if the experiences reported by the respondent are both 1 and 2.

Col 22 - **MULTICULTURAL EXPERIENCES**.

Code this category codes if the individual reports experiences that are interracial and/or multicultural in nature, but they do not have a clear developmental history &/or impact. This category **CANNOT** double code with the "Developmental Impact" category.
e.g., I've travelled all over (if there's an indication that this happened during childhood, code under Developmental Impact); I have many friends from different races; my best friend of 18 years is Mexican; etc. Also code experiences such as having a biracial child, a racial/cultural minority husband, or interracial relationship with partner.

Col 23 - **OTHER NON-MC EXPERIENCES**.

Subject reports current or past experiences that are not cultural/racial in nature, but may impact the way the subject responded. These experiences are unrelated to race/ethnicity. **DO NOT** include descriptions of individual characteristics such as gender or sexual orientation, except when described in experiential terms.

e.g., "I am an unwed mother with a 6 year old child", "I just separated from partner of 13 years", "I've had a long term relationship with same sex partner".

Col 24 - **SELF-LABEL**.

Racial/ethnic labels:

1. Regional (Texan, Southerner)
2. Slangs (Chicana, Latina)
3. Lack of id (mutt, plain, neutral, average)

Col 25 - **RACIAL/CULTURAL GROUP IDENTIFICATION**.

Describes self in terms of a racial/ethnic/cultural group, by identifying with it ("I feel very attached to the Hispanic culture"). The individual **DOES NOT** have to belong to that ethnic/racial/cultural group for this category to code. e.g., a Black individual may say "I feel attached to the Hispanic culture because I had a Mexican nanny"; I lived in El Paso and identify with that culture".

Col 26 - **RACIAL/CULTURAL GROUP NON-ID**.

Denotes "non-ID with any ethnic/racial group or doesn't think about self in racial/ethnic terms (e.g., "N/A", "doesn't apply to me")

Col 27 - **DESCRIPTION OF ETHNIC/RACIAL GROUP**

Code this category if the individual provides a description, explanation, and/or feeling about **ANY** racial/ethnic group. This category codes regardless of whether the individual belongs or not to the ethnic/racial group, or whether s/he identifies with it. This can double code with any category.

CODE 1 if the feeling toward a particular ethnic/racial group is positive (pride); **CODE 2** is the feeling is negative (shame); and **CODE 3** if the feeling or relationship with the ethnic group is neutral.

DATA ENTRY GUIDELINES

Code Missing data as 9
Multiple responses = code highest value
θ = Zero; ƀ = Blank
Enter numbers circled in red as data
Abbreviations: DK = Don't Know
unkn = unknown
missg = Missing Data

COL	FIELD NAME	ACCEPTABLE VALUES
Card 1	*ICME*	
1	Institutional Code	1=UNT; 2=Ambers; 3=Other
2-4	Identification #	sequential number 001-999
5	Card #	1
6-80	ICME items # 1-75	0-4=Response; 9=missg
Card 2	*ICME*	
1	Institutional Code	1=UNT; 2=Ambers; 3=Other
2-4	Identification #	sequential number 001-999
5	Card #	2
6-80	ICME items # 76-150	0-4=Response; 9=missg
Card 3	*ICME*	
1	Institutional Code	1=UNT; 2=Ambers; 3=Other
2-4	Identification #	sequential number 001-999
5	Card #	3
6-80	ICME items # 151-225	0-4=Response; 9=missg

Card 4 *Self-Description*

1	Institutional Code	1=UNT; 2=Ambers; 3=Other
2-4	Identification #	sequential number 001-999
5	Card #	4
6	Other info	0=absent; 1=present
7-16	Rosenberg's SE scale	1-4=Response; 9=missg
17-36	Phinney's MEIM scale	1-4=Response; 9=missg
37-38	Age	15 - 98; 99=missg
39	Gender	0= Male; 1= Female
40	Marital Status	1-6=Response; 7=dead; 9=missg data
41	Educational Level	1-6=Response; 7=other; 9=missg data
42-51	Racial Self-Description	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkwn; 9=~~b~~

42=Black	**43=Asian**	**44=Hispanic**	**45=Native Am.**	**46=W/Cauc**
47=American	**48=(ethnic)**	**49=Human**	**50=Other**	**51=DK**

53	Multi-Race index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
54-55	Race-accuracy	0-9(x2)= see below
	1=Accurate Description	**2=Accurate w/additions-repetitions**
	3=Evades Question	**4=Inaccurate w/definitional Error**
	5=Omits Dominant race	**6=Omits Minority Race**
	7=No Answer	**8=race not in P/GPs**
	9=Unknown	**0=N/A (2nd digit only)**
57-73	Ethnicity Self-Description	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkn; 9=~~b~~

57=US/Canada	**58=Mexico**	**59=C. America**	**60=So.America**
61=W.Europe	**62=E.Europe**	**63=Africa**	**64=Mid-East**
65=Asia	**66=So/SE Asia**	**67=Pacific Is.**	**68=Jewish**
69=tribe/subgrp	**70=(race)**	**71=Human**	**72=Other**
73=DK			

75	Multi-Ethnic index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
76-77	Ethnic-accuracy	0-9(x2)= see below
	1=Accurate Description	**2=Accurate w/additions-repetitions**
	3=Evades Question	**4=Inaccurate w/definitional Error**
	5=Omits Dominant Ethn.	**6=Omits Minority Ethnicity**
	7=No Answer	**8=ethnicity not in P/GPs**
	9=Unknown	**0=N/A (2nd digit only)**

78	Religion mentioned	0=no; 1=yes-self; 2=yes-parents
79-80	Blank	~~bb~~

Card 5 *Other Demo & CHRiF*

1	Institutional Code	1=UNT; 2=Ambers; 3=Other
2-4	Identification #	sequential number 001-999
5	Card #	5
6	Father marital status	1-6=Resp; 7=dead; 8=DK; 9=missg
7	Mother marital status	1-6=Resp; 7=dead; 8=DK; 9=missg
8	Father's Education	1-6=Resp; 7=othr; 8=DK; 9=missg
9	Mother's Education	1-6=Resp; 7=othr; 8=DK; 9=missg
10	Father's Occupation	0=unemployd; 1-7=Hollings; 8=DK; 9=missg
11	Mother's Occupation	0=unemployd; 1-7=Hollings; 8=DK; 9=missg
12	Blank	~~b~~
13-31	CHRiF Scale Ratings	1-3=Response; 9=missg
32-34	Blank	~~bbb~~
35	Fam. Struct. changes	0=none; 1-8=# changes; 9=unkn
36	Languages	1-9=# of languages spoken < 14
37-39	Blank	~~bbb~~
40-69	Geographic Moves	(MoveType=1-9 & AgeCode=1-9) X 15

MoveType

0=no moves	**1=b/n neighbor cities**	**2=w/in state/region**
3=b/n regions	**4=X-Country**	**5=other**
8=unknown	**9=blank**	

AgeCode

0=no moves	**1=≤ 4**	**2=5-10**	**3=11-13**	
4=14-16	**5=17-20**	**6=≥21**	**8=unknown**	**9=blank**

70	Blank	~~b~~
71	Multi-Cultural index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
72-77	Difficult Coding	0=no; 1=yes

72=Insuff. Info	**73=Inacc. Info**	**74=Diff. race/ethn.**
75=Diff. Geo moves	**76=Diff. Family Changes**	**77=Diff. MC status**
78=Other		

79	Needs Content Analysis	0=no; 1=yes
80	Blank	~~b~~

CODE ON CODING SHEETS

Card 6 *Parents' Descriptions*

1	Institutional Code	1=UNT; 2=Ambers; 3=Other
2-4	Identification #	sequential number 001-999
5	Card #	6
6	Blank	b
7-16	Father's Race	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkn; 9=missg

7=Black	**8=Asian**	**9=Hispanic**	**10=Native Am.**	**11=W/Cauc**
12=American	**13=(ethnic)**	**14=Human**	**15=Other**	**16=DK**

17	Blank	b
18	Multi-Race index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
19	Race-accuracy	1-9=See below

1=Accurate Description **4=Inaccurate w/definitional Error**
5=Omits any Paternal Grandparent's race
7=No Answer **9=Unknown**

20	Blank	b
21-37	Father's Ethnicity	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkn; 9=missg

21=US/Canada	**22=Mexico**	**23=C. America**	**24=So.America**
25=W.Europe	**26=E.Europe**	**27=Africa**	**28=Mid-East**
29=Asia	**30=So/SE Asia**	**31=Pacific Is.**	**32=Jewish**
33=tribe/subgrp	**34=(race)**	**35=Human**	**36=Other**
37=DK			

39	Multi-Ethnic index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
40	Ethnic-accuracy	1-9=See below

1=Accurate Description **4=Inaccurate w/definitional Error**
5=Omits any Paternal Grandparent's ethnicity
7=No Answer **9=Unknown**

41	Father's Immigration	0=US born; 1=Immigrant; 2=Foreign non-imm; 9=unkn
42-43	Coding Pattern #	00=no pattern; 10-99=pattern #

(Card 6 - cont.)

44-53	Mother's Race	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkn; 9=missg

44=Black 45=Asian 46=Hispanic 47=Native Am. 48=W/Cauc
49=American 50=(ethnic) 51=Human 52=Other 53=DK

54	Blank	b
55	Multi-Race index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
56	Race-accuracy	1-9=See below

1=Accurate Description 4=Inaccurate w/definitional Error
5=Omits any Maternal GP' race
7=No Answer 9=Unknown

57	Blank	b
58-74	Mother's Ethnicity	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkn; 9=missg

58=US/Canada 59=Mexico 60=C. America 61=So.America
62=W.Europe 63=E.Europe 64=Africa 65=Mid-East
66=Asia 67=So/SE Asia 68=Pacific Is. 69=Jewish
70=tribe/subgrp 71=(race) 72=Human 73=Other
74=DK

75	Blank	b
76	Multi-Ethnic index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
77	Ethnic-accuracy	1-9=See below

1=Accurate Description 4=Inaccurate w/definitional Error
5=Omits any Maternal Grandparents' ethnicity
7=No Answer 9=Unknown

78	Mother's Immigration	0=US born; 1=Immigrant; 2=Foreign non-imm; 9=unkn
79-80	Coding Pattern #	10 - 99; b (see below for values)

Card 7 *Grandfathers' Descriptions*

1	Institutional Code	1=UNT; 2=Ambers; 3=Other
2-4	Identification #	sequential number 001-999
5	Card #	7
6	Blank	~~b~~
7-16	PGF's Race	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkn; 9=missg

7=Black 8=Asian 9=Hispanic 10=Native Am. 11=W/Cauc
12=American 13=(ethnic) 14=Human 15=Other 16=DK

18	Multi-Race index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
21-37	PGF's Ethnicity	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkn; 9=missg

21=US/Canada 22=Mexico 23=C. America 24=So.America
25=W.Europe 26=E.Europe 27=Africa 28=Mid-East
29=Asia 30=So/SE Asia 31=Pacific Is. 32=Jewish
33=tribe/subgrp 34=(race) 35=Human 36=Other
37=DK

39	Multi-Ethnic index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
41	PGF's Immigration	0=US born; 1=Immigrant; 2=Foreign non-imm; 9=unkn
42-43	Father's Pattern style	~~b~~0=as specified; ~~b~~1=invert GPs code
44-53	MGF's Race	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkn; 9=missg

44=Black 45=Asian 46=Hispanic 47=Native Am. 48=W/Cauc
49=American 50=(ethnic) 51=Human 52=Other 53=DK

55	Multi-Race index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
58-74	MGF's Ethnicity	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkn; 9=missg

58=US/Canada 59=Mexico 60=C. America 61=So.America
62=W.Europe 63=E.Europe 64=Africa 65=Mid-East
66=Asia 67=So/SE Asia 68=Pacific Is. 69=Jewish
70=tribe/subgrp 71=(race) 72=Human 73=Other
74=DK

76	Multi-Ethnic index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
78	MGF's Immigration	0=US born; 1=Immigrant; 2=Foreign non-imm; 9=unkn
79-80	Mother's Pattern style	~~b~~0=as specified; ~~b~~1=invert GPs code

Card 8 *Grandmothers' Descriptions*

1	Institutional Code	1=UNT; 2=Ambers; 3=Other
2-4	Identification #	sequential number 001-999
5	Card #	8
6	Blank	~~b~~
7-16	PGM's Race	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkn; 9=missg

7=Black 8=Asian 9=Hispanic 10=Native Am. 11=W/Cauc
12=American 13=(ethnic) 14=Human 15=Other 16=DK

18	Multi-Race index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
21-37	PGM's Ethnicity	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkn; 9=missg

21=US/Canada 22=Mexico 23=C. America 24=So.America
25=W.Europe 26=E.Europe 27=Africa 28=Mid-East
29=Asia 30=So/SE Asia 31=Pacific Is. 32=Jewish
33=tribe/subgrp 34=(race) 35=Human 36=Other
37=DK

39	Multi-Ethnic index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
41	PGM's Immigration	0=US born; 1=Immigrant; 2=Foreign non-imm; 9=unkn
42-43	Father's Pattern mods.	~~b~~0=no mods; 1=few mods; 2=many mods
44-53	MGM's Race	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkn; 9=missg

44=Black 45=Asian 46=Hispanic 47=Native Am. 48=W/Cauc
49=American 50=(ethnic) 51=Human 52=Other 53=DK

55	Multi-Race index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
58-74	MGM's Ethnicity	0=no; 1=yes; 2=probably; 8=unkn; 9=missg

58=US/Canada 59=Mexico 60=C. America 61=So.America
62=W.Europe 63=E.Europe 64=Africa 65=Mid-East
66=Asia 67=So/SE Asia 68=Pacific Is. 69=Jewish
70=tribe/subgrp 71=(race) 72=Human 73=Other
74=DK

76	Multi-Ethnic index	1=mono; 2=bi; 3=multi; 9=unkn
78	MGM's Immigration	0=US born; 1=Immigrant; 2=Foreign non-imm; 9=unkn
79-80	Mother's Pattern mods.	~~b~~0=no mods; 1=few mods; 2=many mods

APPENDIX C

DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENT

EXPERIENCES INVENTORY

Please indicate how much each statement applies to your experience by circling a number.
Please answer "not true" if any part of the statement is not true.

Definitely not true	*Mostly not true*	*Sometimes/Somewhat true*	*Mostly true*	*Definitely true*
0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**

1. I am comfortable being different from my friends.	0 1 2 3 4
2. I think I adapt to new social situations better than most people.	0 1 2 3 4
3. I have learned a lot of useful things from other cultures.	0 1 2 3 4
4. I am able to speak and understand more than one language.	0 1 2 3 4
5. I am comfortable crossing boundaries that usually keep people from understanding each other.	0 1 2 3 4
6. I learn new behaviors easily by observing and imitating others.	0 1 2 3 4
7. I tend to notice how people are different from me.	0 1 2 3 4
8. I enjoy listening to music from other cultures.	0 1 2 3 4
9. When I interact with others I try to understand them from their cultural perspective, not mine.	0 1 2 3 4
10. When I interact with people who are different from me, I think that these differences are cultural.	0 1 2 3 4
11. I can see the world from more than one cultural vantage point.	0 1 2 3 4
12. I notice differences in how people from different cultures express themselves by gestures, glances, postures, and facial expressions.	0 1 2 3 4
13. When I travel, I enjoy learning about local customs.	0 1 2 3 4
14. I can use frames of reference from more than one culture.	0 1 2 3 4
15. I find it useful to think differently from most people around me.	0 1 2 3 4
16. I am comfortable conversing in more than one language.	0 1 2 3 4
17. Being different from most people around me makes me feel lonely.	0 1 2 3 4
18. Sometimes I am socially awkward because I can't decide how to act.	0 1 2 3 4
19. It is easy for others to make me feel confused.	0 1 2 3 4
20. When someone I am with tells me about their culture's different customs, I enjoy learning more about them.	0 1 2 3 4
21. It is emotionally important to me to maintain a strong connection to my ethnic group.	0 1 2 3 4
22. I tend to isolate myself because I think no one else is very much like me.	0 1 2 3 4
23. It is often hard for me to make myself understood by others.	0 1 2 3 4
24. When I am different from others in a group, I can usually offer something new and useful.	0 1 2 3 4
25. When I have several conflicting responses to a situation, sometimes I get confused and mess things up.	0 1 2 3 4

26. When I misjudge others' thoughts and actions, I feel ashamed. 0 1 2 3 4
27. I prefer not to participate in any ethnically related cultural activities. 0 1 2 3 4
28. When interacting with people from other cultures, it is easy for me to follow their courtesies and customs. 0 1 2 3 4
29. I can function well in ambiguous situations. 0 1 2 3 4
30. I feel ashamed of my differences because they single me out. 0 1 2 3 4
31. I am aware of cultural differences when I interact with people who are culturally different from me. 0 1 2 3 4
32. I have a unique and often misunderstood way of expressing my thoughts. 0 1 2 3 4
33. When someone says I am different from others, I feel unsafe and inadequate. 0 1 2 3 4
34. I readily adopt new behaviors and ways of interacting by observing others. 0 1 2 3 4
35. I usually avoid participating in another culture's customs. 0 1 2 3 4
36. I like to learn about other cultural groups by doing things with people of those groups. 0 1 2 3 4
37. I feel emotionally attached to more than one ethnic group. 0 1 2 3 4
38. I am good at starting organizations, but I like others to lead them. 0 1 2 3 4
39. It is often hard for me to fit in with a new group of friends. 0 1 2 3 4
40. Even when people are different from me, I can easily understand their reasons for doing what they do. 0 1 2 3 4
41. I think in more than one language. 0 1 2 3 4
42. I am proud of the ways that I am different from my peers. 0 1 2 3 4
43. I tend to make more social blunders than most people. 0 1 2 3 4
44. I can readily understand how different people see the world. 0 1 2 3 4
45. I can easily interpret other people's body language accurately. 0 1 2 3 4
46. I tend to blame myself even when a situation couldn't be avoided. 0 1 2 3 4
47. I can usually find an appropriate way to participate in another culture's customs. 0 1 2 3 4
48. I like learning about why people of different cultures do what they do. 0 1 2 3 4
49. I seek out opportunities to use more than one language. 0 1 2 3 4
50. I go to worship services that are different from mine because I want to see how it feels. 0 1 2 3 4
51. I don't usually tell people much about myself because I don't want them to notice that I am different. 0 1 2 3 4
52. I can often find things I have in common with people who may seem very different from me. 0 1 2 3 4
53. When someone is culturally different from me, I find it hard to understand why they feel the way they do. 0 1 2 3 4
54. More than one ethnic group label applies to me. 0 1 2 3 4
55. I sometimes change my actions or self-presentation so as to look more like I belong to an ethnic group other than my own. 0 1 2 3 4
56. In my family, having different ideas is not well accepted. 0 1 2 3 4

57. I often don't understand basic social behaviors and norms that most others around me seem to understand. 0 1 2 3 4
58. I know at least two languages well enough to grasp the emotional meanings of words. 0 1 2 3 4
59. I rarely meet anyone with whom I can really identify. 0 1 2 3 4
60. When I change situations, I sometimes forget to change my manners to fit the situation. 0 1 2 3 4
61. I can usually figure out a new situation quite fast. 0 1 2 3 4
62. When I meet people of other cultures, I get confused about how to show politeness in their culture. 0 1 2 3 4
63. I feel at home with the traditions and celebrations of more than one culture. 0 1 2 3 4
64. People sometimes tell me that I am not sensitive to their feelings. 0 1 2 3 4
65. People tell me that I may interact quite differently when talking to different people or in different situations. 0 1 2 3 4
66. I don't think ethnicity really matters in America any more. 0 1 2 3 4
67. Not finding others like me makes me feel sad and lonely. 0 1 2 3 4
68. By observing how others different from me interact with each other, I learn how to interact with them. 0 1 2 3 4
69. I value having friends who are culturally different from me. 0 1 2 3 4
70. I find it exciting to meet people from other cultures. 0 1 2 3 4
71. When others hurt my feelings, I usually go off by myself. 0 1 2 3 4
72. It is easy for others to make me feel socially clumsy. 0 1 2 3 4
73. My behaviors and practices belong to more than one ethnic group. 0 1 2 3 4
74. I am often confused about why different cultures have the customs they do. 0 1 2 3 4
75. Sometimes I mix two languages when I think. 0 1 2 3 4
76. I have difficulty understanding the body language cues of people from other cultures. 0 1 2 3 4
77. Sometimes it is hard to find words for my feelings. 0 1 2 3 4
78. When I feel I am different from others in a group, I try to hide it. 0 1 2 3 4
79. I am creative when solving problems that arise from cultural differences. 0 1 2 3 4
80. I know at least two languages well enough to see differences in their cultural frames of reference. 0 1 2 3 4
81. I especially enjoy being with people who are different from me. 0 1 2 3 4
82. I participate only in traditional American cultural activities not associated with any one ethnic group. 0 1 2 3 4
83. When I misunderstand others' thinking or actions, I often don't know why. 0 1 2 3 4
84. When I am invited to celebrate another culture's traditions, I usually have a good time. 0 1 2 3 4
85. It is difficult for me to initiate interaction with people from other cultures. 0 1 2 3 4
86. I can adapt to different sets of cultural values. 0 1 2 3 4

87. Other people find it hard to understand how I see the world. 0 1 2 3 4
88. I am able to communicate appropriately with people from other cultures by avoiding gestures, postures, and expressions that may be offensive in their culture. 0 1 2 3 4
89. When someone is culturally different from me, I find it hard to tell how they feel about things. 0 1 2 3 4
90. I usually accept invitations to celebrate another culture's traditions. 0 1 2 3 4
91. Because I can understand several points of view easily, it is often hard for me to make decisions. 0 1 2 3 4
92. I sometimes have difficulty expressing ideas in one language that occurred to me in a different language. 0 1 2 3 4
93. I don't feel emotionally attached to any ethnic or cultural group. 0 1 2 3 4
94. It is easy for me to get used to the different ways of people from other cultures. 0 1 2 3 4
95. I don't pay any special attention to my ethnic group membership(s). 0 1 2 3 4
96. I rarely think of my peers and friends as "like me". 0 1 2 3 4
97. I use films, sculpture, painting, and other visual art media to learn more about other ethnic groups. 0 1 2 3 4
98. I feel that I really belong to more than one ethnic group. 0 1 2 3 4
99. I feel vulnerable when people know things about me. 0 1 2 3 4
100. I am able to establish meaningful relationships with people from other cultures. 0 1 2 3 4
101. I am quite resourceful at figuring out what to do in unfamiliar situations. 0 1 2 3 4
102. I like several people who do not share my cultural values. 0 1 2 3 4
103. I feel ashamed when I misjudge what is appropriate behavior in social situations. 0 1 2 3 4
104. I have been discriminated against because people can't accurately identify my ethnicity. 0 1 2 3 4
105. I don't know very much about any one ethnic group's cultural activities. 0 1 2 3 4
106. I tend to blame myself for failures to communicate. 0 1 2 3 4
107. When I think which ethnic or cultural group I mostly act or think like, I cannot find one. 0 1 2 3 4
108. I play quite different roles in different kinds of groups. 0 1 2 3 4
109. When I'm the only one who doesn't understand, I feel ashamed. 0 1 2 3 4
110. The theater, dance, and other performance arts of other ethnic groups help me to understand them better. 0 1 2 3 4
111. There is no ethnic group with which I can identify. 0 1 2 3 4
112. When I am different from those around me, I do my best to blend in. 0 1 2 3 4
113. I think differently from most people around me and this is not a good thing. 0 1 2 3 4
114. I am often asked about my ethnicity or where I am from. 0 1 2 3 4
115. I find parts of my own experience in the cultural traditions of different ethnic groups. 0 1 2 3 4

116. Other people often misunderstand me, even if I try to explain things. 0 1 2 3 4
117. I feel socially clumsy when I make mistakes about another culture's ways of interacting. 0 1 2 3 4
118. Others tell me that I communicate clearly and accurately in new situations. 0 1 2 3 4
119. I feel that I have lost touch with my family's original customs. 0 1 2 3 4
120. I don't feel culturally "at home" anywhere I go. 0 1 2 3 4
121. I can usually think of several approaches to a problem, and this can be confusing. 0 1 2 3 4
122. I often feel confused about what I am feeling. 0 1 2 3 4
123. I can understand the world from more than one point of view. 0 1 2 3 4
124. I have acquired my cultural values from experience with more than one ethnic group. 0 1 2 3 4
125. Sometimes I misinterpret ideas because I think in more than one language. 0 1 2 3 4
126. When I misread the feelings of someone from another culture, I feel guilty. 0 1 2 3 4
127. Even people who are the most like me are not very much like me. 0 1 2 3 4
128. In settings where different cultures are represented, I get mixed up trying to follow conflicting social rules. 0 1 2 3 4
129. I have studied the history and traditions of other cultures when it was not required for school. 0 1 2 3 4
130. Only traditional American holidays have any real meaning for me, regardless of my ethnicity. 0 1 2 3 4
131. One ethnic group label is enough to describe me. 0 1 2 3 4
132. I blame myself when I make social blunders, regardless of the situation. 0 1 2 3 4
133. When I misunderstand others, it is usually because I have applied the wrong frame of reference. 0 1 2 3 4
134. I am often confused by how people express themselves with gestures, glances, postures, and facial expressions. 0 1 2 3 4
135. It is difficult for me to find others like me ethnically or culturally. 0 1 2 3 4
136. I spend a lot of energy trying to fit in with the ethnic group I prefer. 0 1 2 3 4
137. I have to think about the situation I am in before I decide how to behave. 0 1 2 3 4
138. I feel only partially attached to any one ethnic group. 0 1 2 3 4
139. People tell me that I am hard to get to know. 0 1 2 3 4
140. I often don't know why I am confused by a social situation. 0 1 2 3 4
141. I feel anxious when a situation is ambiguous and uncertain. 0 1 2 3 4
142. My family members appreciate the ways in which I am different from them. 0 1 2 3 4
143. I am not very good at judging how to handle unfamiliar environments. 0 1 2 3 4
144. I find it easy to empathize with others even if they are culturally different from me. 0 1 2 3 4
145. No one ethnic group label accurately describes me. 0 1 2 3 4

146. I am curious about many different things, and learning about them sometimes reveals contradictions. 0 1 2 3 4
147. I identify partially with more than one ethnic group, but not completely with any. 0 1 2 3 4
148. Compared to most people, I am a quick learner in social situations. 0 1 2 3 4
149. When people tell me I have misjudged a situation, I withdraw from it. 0 1 2 3 4
150. If my culture has its own traditions of music, dress, or food, I am not familiar with them. 0 1 2 3 4
151. If I were entertaining visitors from another culture, I am confident that I could make them comfortable. 0 1 2 3 4
152. I tend to attribute my social blunders to my ethnic or cultural background. 0 1 2 3 4
153. Although more than one ethnic label applies to me, I prefer to be known by only one. 0 1 2 3 4
154. It is easy for me to get used to other people's different ways of doing things. 0 1 2 3 4
155. I don't find it useful to think of people in terms of their ethnicity or cultural background. 0 1 2 3 4
156. I tend to isolate myself socially and not ask for support even when I need it. 0 1 2 3 4
157. I often bring a unique perspective to problems that helps in solving them. 0 1 2 3 4
158. It has been difficult for me to stay attached to the same cultural customs over the years. 0 1 2 3 4
159. I have several friends from cultures different from my own. 0 1 2 3 4
160. When I try to get along in another culture, I get confused about which norms to follow. 0 1 2 3 4
161. I feel ashamed when others tease me for behaving differently from them. 0 1 2 3 4
162. I am good at helping others resolve their cultural misunderstandings. 0 1 2 3 4
163. Because I see the world differently from most people, I often misunderstand things that are obvious to others. 0 1 2 3 4
164. I blame myself when I get confused about which cultural frame of reference to use. 0 1 2 3 4
165. I am flexible when interacting with people from other cultures. 0 1 2 3 4
166. It is difficult for me to understand people if I do not have a lot in common with them. 0 1 2 3 4
167. I feel that I don't belong to any ethnic or cultural group. 0 1 2 3 4
168. When I've made a social mistake, I tend to withdraw or leave the situation as soon as I can. 0 1 2 3 4
169. In my family I think that we respect each other's differences. 0 1 2 3 4
170. I sometimes have difficulty translating feelings and emotional meanings from one language to another. 0 1 2 3 4
171. I feel ashamed when I know I have made a mistake about another culture's customs. 0 1 2 3 4

172. I can easily make friends even if I am in a new cultural environment. 0 1 2 3 4
173. I don't feel that I understand any ethnic group very well. 0 1 2 3 4
174. I seek out situations where I can meet people of other cultures. 0 1 2 3 4
175. I feel accepted as a member by more than one ethnic group. 0 1 2 3 4
176. I am confused about how to behave because I have learned contradictory cultural norms. 0 1 2 3 4
177. When I make mistakes in using language, I feel ashamed. 0 1 2 3 4
178. I am sensitive to people's feelings even if they are quite different from most people I know. 0 1 2 3 4
179. In my family we always maintained the same cultural traditions. 0 1 2 3 4
180. I can use several different perspectives to understand people who are different from me. 0 1 2 3 4
181. When I make a cultural mistake, I can laugh about it. 0 1 2 3 4
182. When I interact with people from another culture, I try to follow the courtesies of their culture. 0 1 2 3 4
183. My cultural values belong to more than one ethnic group. 0 1 2 3 4
184. I feel ashamed when people point out my ethnic or cultural differences. 0 1 2 3 4
185. I take opportunities to help others understand my differences. 0 1 2 3 4
186. I make an effort to understand the reasons for other cultures' customs. 0 1 2 3 4
187. I feel quite at home with certain ethnic traditions from different groups. 0 1 2 3 4
188. I have been able to maintain meaningful relationships with people from other cultures. 0 1 2 3 4
189. I know a lot about the games, art, music, or dance of more than one culture. 0 1 2 3 4
190. Although I know more than one language, I sometimes misunderstand the emotional meanings of words. 0 1 2 3 4
191. I miss being able to celebrate my own culture's traditions. 0 1 2 3 4
192. My friends enjoy the ways that I am different from them. 0 1 2 3 4
193. It is easy for me to understand how certain customs help a culture to survive. 0 1 2 3 4
194. I celebrate holidays that belong to more than one culture. 0 1 2 3 4
195. I easily switch between different cultural norms depending on the situation. 0 1 2 3 4
196. I don't really understand why other cultures celebrate different holidays from Americans. 0 1 2 3 4
197. Sometimes I mix two languages when I speak. 0 1 2 3 4
198. People sometimes make mistakes about which ethnic group I belong to. 0 1 2 3 4
199. It is difficult for others to really get to know me. 0 1 2 3 4
200. I sometimes get mixed up about which social graces go with which culture. 0 1 2 3 4
201. When I make mistakes about the social manners of another culture, I blame myself. 0 1 2 3 4
202. I enjoy going new places and doing new things. 0 1 2 3 4
203. I don't really want my friends to know much about my ethnic background. 0 1 2 3 4

204. When others tease me for behaving in culturally inappropriate ways, I go off by myself. 0 1 2 3 4
205. I make an effort to understand the ways that I am different from my friends. 0 1 2 3 4
206. I am confused about my ethnicity. 0 1 2 3 4
207. When people tell me that I made a social blunder, I feel like a fool. 0 1 2 3 4
208. I participate in the cultural activities of only one ethnic group. 0 1 2 3 4
209. I have felt discriminated against by all ethnic groups because of my ethnicity. 0 1 2 3 4
210. It is often hard for me to tell which set of social norms I should be following. 0 1 2 3 4
211. I struggle to determine where I belong ethnically or culturally. 0 1 2 3 4
212. I make mistakes about what is appropriate in one culture but inappropriate in another. 0 1 2 3 4
213. I usually feel responsible for a bad situation even when someone else is in charge. 0 1 2 3 4
214. In settings where different cultures are represented, I try to avoid confusion by making up my own different social rules. 0 1 2 3 4
215. It is hard to keep track of the different frames of reference when I am interacting with a group of people who are culturally different. 0 1 2 3 4
216. I read books, magazines, or newspapers from other ethnic or cultural groups. 0 1 2 3 4
217. It is easy for me to grasp other people's differences by taking on their points of view. 0 1 2 3 4
218. I have more than one set of cultural values and these contradict each other. 0 1 2 3 4
219. There is no group anywhere that represents who I am ethnically. 0 1 2 3 4
220. Because of the ways I am different from others, I have a quicker grasp of new ideas. 0 1 2 3 4
221. Although I know more than one language, I sometimes choose the wrong word to capture the feeling I am trying to express. 0 1 2 3 4
222. I am an ethnic or cultural minority everywhere I go. 0 1 2 3 4
223. I try to learn more about other cultures' holiday celebrations, native dress, and other traditions. 0 1 2 3 4
224. I feel good about being different from the people around me. 0 1 2 3 4
225. Finding a cultural "home" is important to me. 0 1 2 3 4

Is there anything else you would like to tell us about yourself or your family that might be helpful for the purpose of this study?

Self-Rating Scale

Using the numbers given below please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement. Please circle your choice.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4

1.	I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.	1	2	3	4
2.	I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	1	2	3	4
3.	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	1	2	3	4
4.	I am able to do things as well as most other people.	1	2	3	4
5.	I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	1	2	3	4
6.	I take a positive attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4
7.	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	1	2	3	4
8.	I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4
9.	I certainly feel useless at times.	1	2	3	4
10.	At times I think I am no good at all.	1	2	3	4

Every person is born into one or more ethnic group(s), but people differ on how important their *ethnicity* is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behavior is affected by it. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Using the numbers given below please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement. Please circle your choice.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4

1. *I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group(s), such as its history, traditions, and customs* 1 2 3 4
2. *I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group(s)* 1 2 3 4
3. *I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me* 1 2 3 4
4. *I like meeting and knowing people from ethnic groups other than my own* 1 2 3 4
5. *I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership* 1 2 3 4
6. *I am happy that I am a member of the group(s) I belong to* 1 2 3 4
7. *I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together* 1 2 3 4
8. *I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life* 1 2 3 4
9. *I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own* 1 2 3 4
10. *I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group(s)* 1 2 3 4
11. *I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group(s)* 1 2 3 4
12. *I understand pretty well what my ethnic group(s) membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own group(s) and other groups* 1 2 3 4
13. *In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group(s)* 1 2 3 4
14. *I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group(s) and its/their accomplishments* 1 2 3 4
15. *I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups* 1 2 3 4
16. *I participate in cultural practices of my own group(s), such as special food, music, or customes* 1 2 3 4
17. *I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups* 1 2 3 4
18. *I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group(s)* 1 2 3 4
19. *I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own* 1 2 3 4

20. *I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background* 1 2 3 4

General Demographics Questionnaire

Please mark the line or fill in the blank to answer. If you are uncertain, answer as best you can.

About yourself:

1. Age: _____ 2. Gender: ___ 0) Male ___ 1) Female

3. Current Marital Status:
___ 1) Single (never married) ___ 2) Married ___ 3) Living with partner
___ 4) Widowed ___ 5) Divorced ___ 6) Separated

4. Highest level of schooling:
___ 1) Less than High school
___ 2) High school graduate or GED
___ 3) Some college, associate degree, technical degree
___ 4) College graduate
___ 5) Masters degree
___ 6) Doctorate (Ph.D., EdD., M.D., J.D.)
___ 7) Other _____

5. How would you describe yourself *Racially* (list all):

6. How would you describe yourself *Ethnically* (list all):

About Your Parents:

7. Current Marital Status:

Father	*Mother*
____ 1) Single	____
____ 2) Married	____
____ 3) Widowed	____
____ 4) Divorced	____
____ 5) Separated	____
____ 6) Both my parents are married but not to each other	

8. Highest Educational level:

Father	*Mother*
____ 1) Less than H.S.	____
____ 2) H.S. or GED	____
____ 3) Some College	____
____ 4) College Grad.	____
____ 5) Masters	____
____ 6) Doctorate	____
7) Other:	
_____	_____

9. Parents' Occupations (current or most recent, or "Don't Know"):

Father *Mother*

_____ _____

About Your Family's Background:
We would like to know your biological parents' and grandparents' race and ethnicity. *Race* refers to a general, more inclusive category based on genetics such as Asian, Black, Native American, Hispanic, Caucasian, etc. *Ethnicity* is more specific. It refers to family's cultural heritage such as Jewish, Cherokee, Navajo, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South Korean, Japanese, Kenyan, African-American, Italian, Irish, etc. Since people can have more than one race and/or ethnicity, list all that apply. If you do not have this information, please answer "Don't Know".

Race(s)	***Ethnicity(ies)***	
10. Biological Father:		___ US born ___ Immigrant
_____	_____	From _____
11. Biological Mother:		___ US born ___ Immigrant
_____	_____	From _____
12. Paternal Grandfather (Biological Father's Father):		___ US born ___ Immigrant
_____	_____	From _____
13. Paternal Grandmother (Biological Father's Mother):		___ US born ___ Immigrant
_____	_____	From _____
14. Maternal Grandfather (Biological Mother's Father):		___ US born ___ Immigrant
_____	_____	From _____
15. Maternal Grandmother (Biological Mother's Mother):		___ US born ___ Immigrant
_____	_____	From _____

16. Who lived in your home for more than a year when you were growing up? (**DO NOT** include yourself). Specify your relationship to them such as parent, step-parent, brother, step-sister, half-brother, adopted sister, grandparent, nanny, boarder, etc. Please provide their race, ethnicity, and primary language. (Please use back of page if needed.)

17. What language(s) did you speak as a child (before age 14) and in what situations (e.g., one language at home or with different family members, another at school)?

18. How many different places have you lived for more than a year? Please list these places (city and state or country), and indicate about how old you were when you lived in these places. Please use back of page if needed.

For this section, it is important to understand the difference between ethnicity and culture. *Culture* refers to the set of values, beliefs, and practices that individuals learn in their lives in relation to social groups they belong to. Those cultural values may or may not be related to ethnicity (family's cultural heritage) or race (genetics). Please circle a number to show how each statement describes your experience while you were growing up:

	No	*Part of the time*	*Yes*
1. My family was racially mixed (Black-Caucasian; Asian-Hispanic; etc.)	0	1	2
2. My family was ethnically mixed (Japanese-Korean; Irish-Italian; etc.)	0	1	2
3. My family's race(s) was different from the race of the dominant society	0	1	2
4. My family's ethnicity(ies) was different from that of the dominant society	0	1	2
5. The language(s) spoken at home was different from the dominant society's	0	1	2
6. I spoke a different language at home than at school	0	1	2
7. I spoke a different language at home than at most social gatherings	0	1	2
8. I spoke different languages with my family than with my friends	0	1	2
9. I spoke different languages with different family members	0	1	2
10. The culture I learned at home was different from the culture I learned at school	0	1	2
11. Our family's culture was different from that of our neighbors, church, community, etc.	0	1	2
12. I was culturally different from most of my friends	0	1	2
13. I was culturally different from most of my peers	0	1	2
14. In my family different cultures were emphasized and practiced	0	1	2
15. I have considered myself culturally different from most of my family members	0	1	2
16. I was different in appearance from individuals of the dominant society	0	1	2
17. When I spoke the dominant culture's language I had an accent	0	1	2
18. When I fill out forms that ask for ethnicity, my ethnic self-label is not in them	0	1	2
19. Sometimes my different cultural values, beliefs and practices contradict each other	0	1	2

REFERENCES

Aboud, F. E. & Doyle, A. B. (1995). The development of in-group pride in Black Canadians. Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology, 26, 243-254.

Adams, G. R. (1985). Identity and political socialization. New Directions for Child Development, 30, 61-77.

Adams, G. R. (1985). Family correlates of female adolescents' ego-identity development. Journal of Adolescence, 8(1), 69-82.

Adams-Webber, J. (1985). Self and other contrast and the development of personal constructs. Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 17(4), 303-314.

Adler, P. (1975). The transitional experience: An alternative view of cultural shock. Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 15, 13-23.

Akbar, N. (1985). Our destiny, authors of a scientific revolution. In H. McAdoo & J. McAdoo (Eds.), Black Children (pp. 17-31). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Atkinson, D. R. (1983). Ethnic similarity in counseling psychology: A review of research. The Counseling Psychologist, 11, 79-92.

Attneave, C. (1982). American Indians and Alaska Native families: Emigrants in their own homeland. In M. McGoldrick, J. Pearce, & J. Giordano (Eds.), Ethnicity and family therapy (pp. 55-83). New York: Guilford Press.

Barth, E. A., & Noel, D. L. (1972). Conceptual frameworks for the analysis of race relations: An evaluation. Social Forces, 50(3), 333-348.

Barth, E. A., & Watson, W. B. (1967). Social stratification and the family in mass society. Social Forces, 45(3), 392-402.

Bell, R. L. (1971). The relative importance of mother and wife roles among Negro lower class women. In R. Staples (Ed.), The Black Family: Essays and Studies. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Bennett, S. K. (1994). The American Indian: A psychological overview. In W. Lonner & R. Malpass (Eds.), Psychology and culture (pp. 35-39). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Bennett, S. K., Behrens, J. T., & Rowe, W. (l993, August). The White Racial Identity Scale: Validity and factor structure. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada.

Berry, J. W., Poortinga, Y. H., Segall, M. H., & Dasen, P. R. (1992). Cross cultural psychology: Research and applications. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Berzon, J. R. (1978). Neither White nor Black: The Mulatto character in American fiction. New York: University Press.

Betancourt, H., & Lopez, S. (1993). The study of culture, ethnicity, and race in American psychology. American Psychologist, 48, 629-637.

Blascovich, J., & Tomaka, J. (1991). Measures of self esteem. In J. P. Robinson, P. R. Shaver, & L. W. Wrightsman (Eds.), Measures of personality and social psychological attitudes. San Diego, Academic Press, Inc.

Boykin, A. W. (1985). Black child socialization: A conceptual framework. In H. McAdoo & J. McAdoo (Eds.), Black children (pp. 33-51). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Bradshaw, C. (1994). Asian and Asian American women. In L. Comas-Díaz & B. Greene (Eds.), Women of color: Integrating ethnic and gender identities in psychotherapy (pp. 72-113). New York: Guilford Press.

Breton, R., & Pinard, M. (1960). Group formation among immigrants: Criteria and processes. Canadian Journal of Economics, 26, 465-477.

Brookins, C. C. (1994). The relationship between Afrocentric values and racial identity attitudes: Validation of the Belief Systems Analysis Scale on African American college students. Special section: Africentric values, racial identity, and acculturation: Measurement, socialization, and consequences. Journal of Black Psychology, 20, 128-142.

Brookins, C. C. (1996). Promoting ethnic identity development in African American youth: the roles of rites of passage. Journal of Black Psychology, 22, 388-417.

Brookins, C. C., Anyabwile, T., & Barnes-Nacoste, R. (1997). Racial identity attitudes and psychological feelings of closeness in African American college students. In J. McAdoo, H. McAdoo, & A. Harrison (Eds.), Proceedings of the thirteenth conference on empirical research on Black psychology. East Lansing: Michigan State University.

Carter,R. T. (1991). Racial identity attitudes and psychological functioning. Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 19, 105-114.

Cauce, A. M., Hiraga, Y., Mason, C., Aguilar, T., Ordonez, N., & Gonzales, N. (1992). Between a rock and a hard place: Social adjustment of biracial youth. In M.P.P. Root (Ed.), Racially mixed people in America (pp. 207-222). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Chen, S. A. (1989). A multi-dimensional model in assessing ethnic identity for Asian-Americans. AAPA-Journal, 13, 1-7.

Cheung, Y. W. (1991). Overview: Sharpening the focus on ethnicity. Special Issue: Use and misuse of alcohol and drugs: Ethnicity issues. International Journal of the Addictions, 25, 573-579.

Clark, A., Hocevar, D., & Dembo, M. H. (1980). The role of cognitive development in children's explanations and preferences for skin color. Developmental Psychology, 16(4), 332-339.

Clark, K., & Clark, M. (1947). Racial identification and preference in Negro preschool children. In T. Newcomb, & E. Hartley (eds.), Readings in social psychology. New York: Holt.

Clark, L. A., & Watson, D. (1995). Constructing validity: Basic issues in objective scale development. Psychological Assessment, 7(3), 309-319.....

Comas-Díaz, L. (1988). Mainland Puerto Rican women: A sociocultural approach. Journal of Community Psychology, 16(1), 21-31.

Comas-Díaz, L. (1988). Cross-cultural mental health treatment. In L. Comas-Díaz, E. E. H. Griffith. (Eds.), Clinical guidelines in cross-cultural mental health. Wiley series in general and clinical psychiatry (pp. 337-361). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Comas-Díaz, L., & Greene, B. (Eds.). (1994). Women of color: Integrating ethnic and gender identities in psychotherapy. New York: Guilford Press.

Corvin, S. A., & Wiggins, F. (1989). An antiracism training model for White professionals. Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 17(3), 105-114.

Cross, W. E., Jr. (1971). The Negro to Black conversion experience: Toward a psychology of Black liberation. Black World, 20, 13-27.

Cross, W. E., Jr. (1978). The Thomas and Cross models of psychological Nigrescence: A literature review. Journal of Black Psychology, 4, 13-31.

Cross, W. E., Jr. (1980). Models of psychological Nigrescence: A literature review. In R. J. Jones (Ed.), Black psychology (pp. 81-98). New York: Harper & Row.

Cross, W. E., Jr. (1985). Black identity: Rediscovering the distinction between personal identity and reference group orientation. In M. B. Spencer, G. K. Brooking, & W. R. Allen (Eds.), Beginnings: The social and affective development of Black children (pp 155-172). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Cross, W. E., Jr. (1987). A two-factor theory of Black identity: Implications for the study of identity development in minority children. In J. S. Phinney & M. J. Rotherham (Eds.), Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development (pp. 117-133). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Cross, W. E., Jr. (1991). Shades of Black: Diversity in African-American identity. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Cui, G. (1989). Intercultural effectiveness: An integrative approach. Paper presented at the 35th Annual conference of the International Communication Association, San Francisco, CA.

Cui, G., & Awa, N. E. (1992). Measuring intercultural effectiveness: An integrative approach. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 16, 311-328.

Cui, G., & Van den Berg, S. (1991). Testing the construct validity of intercultural effectiveness. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 15, 227-241.

Cui, G., Van den Berg, S., & Jiang, Y. (1997). Cross-cultural adaptation and ethnic communication: Two structural equation models. Unpublished paper, Howard University.

Dana, R. H. (1993). Multicultural assessment perspectives for professional psychology. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

De Vos, G. A. (1975). Ethnic pluralism: Conflict and accommodation. In G. DeVos & L. Romanucci-Ross (Eds.), Ethnic identity: Cultural continuities and change (pp. 5-41). Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield.

De Vos, G. A. (1990). Self in society: A multilevel psychocultural analysis. In G. A. DeVos & M. M. Suarez-Orozco (Eds.), Status inequality: The self in culture (pp. 17-74). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Dodge, S. (1990, March 7). Culture shock and alienation remain problems for many foreign students on U.S. campuses. The Chronicle of Higher Education (pp. A33-36).

Dor-Shav, Z. (1990). Development of an ethnic self-definition: The ethnic self-concept "Jew" among Israeli children. International Journal of Behavioral Development, 13, 317-332.

DuBois, W.E.B. (1989). The souls of Black folk. New York: Penguin. (Original work published 1903).

Educational Testing Service. (1965). College Student Questionnaires. Princeton, NJ: Author.

Entwisle, D., & Astone, N. (1994). Some practical guidelines for measuring youth's race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status. Child Development, 65, 1521-1540.

Erikson, E. H. (1950). Childhood and society. New York: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1963). Childhood and society (2nd ed.). New York: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1966). Eight ages of man. International Journal of Psychiatry, 2(3), 281-300.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). Identity: Youth and Crisis. New York: Norton.

Feldman, S., & Rosenthal, D. (1994). Culture makes a difference...or does it? A comparison of adolescents in Hong Kong, Australia, and the United States. In R. Silbereisen & E. Todt (Eds.), Adolescence in context (pp. 99-124). New York: Springer-Verlag.

Ferraro, G. (1990). The cultural dimension of international business. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Floyd, F. J., & Widaman, K. F. (1995). Factor analysis in the development and refinement of clinical assessment instruments. Psychological Assessment, 7(3), 286-299.

Ford, R. C. (1987). Cultural awareness and cross-cultural counseling. International Journal for the Advancement of Counseling, 10, 71-78.

Foster, S. L., & Cone, J. D. (1995). Validity issues in clinical assessment. Psychological Assessment, 7(3), 248-260.

Furnham, A., & Bochner, S. (1986). Culture shock. London, England: Methuen.

Gecas, V., & Mortimer, J. T. (1987). Stability and change in the self-concept from adolescence to adulthood. In T. Honess & K. Yardley (Eds.), Self and identity: Perspectives across the lifespan (pp. 265-286). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ghee, K. L. (1990). The psychological importance of self definition and labeling: Black versus African American. Special Issue: Incorporating an African world view into psychology: I. Journal of Black Psychology, 17, 75-93.

Gibbs, J. T. (1987). Identity and marginality: Issues in the treatment of biracial adolescents. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 57, 265-278.

Gibbs, J. T., & Hines, A. M. (1992). Negotiating ethnic identity: Issues for Black-White biracial adolescents. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), Racially mixed people in America (pp. 223-238). Newbury Park, California: Sage.

Gibbs, J., & Huang, L. (1989). Children of color: Psychological interventions with minority youth. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Gibson, C. M. (1993). Empowerment theory and practice with adolescents of color in the child welfare system. Families in Society, 74, 387-396.

Giordano, J. (1992). Ethnicity and aging. Special Issue: Geriatric social work education. Journal of Gerontological Social Work, 18, 23-37.

Goodchilds, J. D. (Ed.). (1991). Psychological perspectives on human diversity in America. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Goodman, M. E. (1946). Evidence concerning the genesis of interracial attitudes. American Anthropologist, 48, 624-630.

Goodman, M. E. (1964). Race awareness in young children (rev. ed.). New York: Collier.

Graves, T. D. (1967). Psychological acculturation in a tri-ethnic community. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 23, 337-350.

Gushue, G. V. (1993). Cultural-identity development and family assessment: An interaction model. Counseling Psychologist, 21, 487-513.

Hale-Benson, J. (1986). Black children: Their roots, culture and learning styles. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hall, C. C. I. (1980). The ethnic identity of racially mixed people: A study of Black-Japanese. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Hall, C. C. I. (1992). Please choose one: Ethnic identity choices for biracial individuals. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), Racially mixed people in America (pp. 250-264). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Hall, C. C. I. (1992). Coloring outside the lines. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), Racially mixed people in America (pp. 326-329). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Hammer, M. R., Gudykunst, W. B., & Wiseman, R. (1978). Dimensions of intercultural effectiveness: an exploratory study. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 2(1), 382-393.

Hardiman, R. (1982). White identity development: A process model for describing the racial consciousness of White Americans. Dissertations Abstracts International, 43, 104A. (University Microfilms No. 82-10330).

Hare, B. R. (1985). Stability and change in self-perception and achievement among Black adolescents: A longitudinal study. Journal of Black Psychology, 11(2), 29-42.

Hare, B. R., & Castenell, L. A., Jr. (1985). No place to run, no place to hide: Comparative status and future prospects of black boys. In M. B. Spencer, G. K. Brookins, & W. R. Allen (Eds.), Beginnings: The social and affective development of black children. Child psychology (pp. 201-214). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Harrison, A., Wilson, M., Pine, C., Chan, S., & Buriel, R. (1990). Family ecologies of ethnic minority children. Child Development, 61, 347-362.

Harter, S. (1983). Developmental perspectives on the self-system. In E. M. Hetherington (Ed.), Handbook of child psychology: Socialization, personality, and social development (Vol. 4, pp. 275-385). New York: John Wiley.

Harter, S. (1990). Self and identity development. In S. S. Feldman & G. R. Elliott (Eds.), At the threshold: The developing adolescent (pp. 352-387). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Haynes, S. N., Blaine, D., & Meyer, K. (1995). Dynamical models for psychological assessment: Phase space functions. Psychological Assessment, 7(1), 17-24.

Haynes, S. N., Richard, D. C. S., & Kubany, E. S. (1995). Content validity in psychological assessment: A functional approach to concepts and methods. Psychological Assessment, 7(3), 238-247.

Helms, J. E. (1984). Toward a theoretical model of the effects of race on counseling: A Black and White model. The Counseling Psychologist, 12, 153-165.

Helms, J. E. (1989). Considering some methodological issues in racial identity counseling research. The Counseling Psychologist, 17, 227-252.

Helms, J. E. (1990). Black and White racial identity: Theory, research, and practice. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Helms, J. E. (1993). More psychologists discover the wheel: A reaction to views by Penn et al. on ethnic preference. Special Section: Racial identity revisited. Journal of Black Psychology, 19, 322-326.

Herman, S. N. (1970). Israelis and Jews: A continuity of an identity. New York: Random House.

Henriques, F. (1975). Children of conflict: A study of interracial sex and marriage. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

Herring, R. D. (1995). Developing biracial ethnic identity: A review of the increasing dilemma. Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 23, 29-38

Highlen, P. S., Reynolds, A. L., Adams, E. M., Hanley, C. P., Myers, L. J., Cox, C. I., & Speight, S. L. (1988, August). Self-identity development model of oppressed people: Inclusive model for all? Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Atlanta, Georgia.

Hill, R. (1971). The strengths of Black families. New York: National Urban League.

Hollingshead, A. B. (1975). Four factor index of social status. Unpublished manuscript.

Horowitz, R. E. (1939). Racial aspects of self-identification in nursery school children. Journal of Psychology, 7, 91-99.

Hughes, M., & Demo, D. H. (1989). Self-perceptions of Black Americans: Self-esteem and personal efficacy. American Journal of Sociology, 95, 132-159.

Hyman, H. H. (1942). The psychology of subjective status. Psychological Bulletin, 39, 473-474.

Jagers, R. J., & Mock, L. O. (1993). Culture and social outcomes among inner-city African American children: An Afrographic exploration. Special Issue: Emotional development of African American children. Journal of Black Psychology, 19, 391-405.

Jenkins, S. R., & Vivero, V. N. (1998). Toward a systems framework for understanding race, ethnicity, and culture. Unpublished manuscript, University of North Texas.

Jenkins, S. R., & Vivero, V. N. (1999a, August). Measuring the consequences of multicultural experiences. Accepted for presentation at the 107th annual convention of the American Psychological Associaiton, Boston, Massachussetts.

Jenkins, S. R., & Vivero, V. N. (1999b, August). Multicultural background, cultural homelessness, and college women's self-esteem. Accepted for presentation at the 107th annual convention of the American Psychological Associaiton, Boston, Massachussetts.

Johnson, S. D. (1990). Toward clarifying culture, race, and ethnicity in the context of multicultural counseling. Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 18, 41-50.

Johnson, R. C., & Nagoshi, C. T. (1986). The adjustment of offspring of within group and interracial/intercultural marriages: A comparison of personality factor scores. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 48, 279-284.

Jones, J. (1988). Racism in Black and White: A bicultural model of reaction and evolution. In P. Katz & D. Taylor (Eds.), Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy (pp. 137-157). New York: Plenum Press.

Jones, J. (1991). Psychological models of race: What have they been and what should they be? In J. D. Goodchilds (Ed.), Psychological perspectives on human diversity in America (pp. 7-46). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Kambon, K. K., & Hopkins, R. (1993). An African-centered analysis of Penn et al.'s critique of the own-race preference assumption underlying Africentric models of personality. Special Section: Racial identity revisited. Journal of Black Psychology, 19, 342-349.

Kealey, D. J., & Ruben, B. D. (1983). Cross-cultural personnel selection criteria: issues and methods. In D. Landis & R. Brislin (Eds.), Handbook for intercultural training: Issues in theory and design. New York: Pergamon.

Kelley, C., & Meyers, J. (1992). Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory Action-Planning Guide. Minneapolis, MN: National Computer Systems.

Kelley, M. L., & Tseng, H. (1992). Cultural differences in child rearing: A comparison of immigrant Chinese and Caucasian American mothers. Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology, 23(4), 444-455.

Kerwin, C., Ponterotto, J. G., Jackson, B. L., & Harris, A. (1993). Racial identity in biracial children: A qualitative investigation. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 40, 221-231.

Kich, G. K. (1992). The developmental process of asserting a biracial, bicultural identity. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), Racially mixed people in America (pp. 304-317). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Kim, Y. Y. (1988). Communication and cross-cultural adaptation: An integrative theory. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Kim, Y. Y. (1989). Intercultural adaptation. In M. K. Asante & W. B. Gudykunst (Eds.), Handbook of international and intercultural communication. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Knight, G. P., Bernal, M. E., Garza, C. A., & Cota, M. K. (1993). Family socialization and the ethnic identity of Mexican- American children. Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology, 24, 99-114.

Knobel, L. (1988, June). Hewlett-Packard's cultural shock. Management Today (pp. 101-106).

Kohls, R. (1984). Intercultural training: Don't leave home without it. Washington, DC: Sietar.

LaFromboise, T., Berman, J. S., & Sohi, B. K. (1994). American Indian Women. In L. Comas-Díaz & B. Greene (Eds.), Women of color: Integrating ethnic and gender identities in psychotherapy (pp. 30-71). New York: Guilford Press.

LaFromboise, T., Coleman, H., & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and theory. Psychological Bulletin, 114, 395-412.

Landrine, H., & Klonoff, E. A. (1994). The African-American acculturation scale: Development, reliability, and validity. Journal of Black Psychology, 20, 104-127.

Landrine, H., & Klonoff, E. A. (1996a). The Schedule of Racist Events: A measure of racial discrimination and a study of its negative physical and mental health consequences. Journal of Black Psychology, 22, 144-168.

Landrine, H., & Klonoff, E. A. (1996b). African-American acculturation: Deconstructing race and reviving culture. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Lee, C. C. (1987). Black manhood training: Group counseling for male Blacks in grades 7-12. Journal of Specialists in Group Work, 12(1), 18-25.

Lee, C. C., & Lindsey, C. R. (1985). Black consciousness development: A group counseling model for Black elementary school students. Elementary School Guidance and Counseling, 19(3), 228-236.

LeVine, R., & Campbell, D. (1972). Ethnocentrism: Theories of conflict, ethnic attitudes and group behavior. New York: Wiley.

Loevinger, J. (1976). Ego development. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Looney, J. (1988). Ego development and Black identity. Journal of Black Psychology, 15, 41-56.

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 13, 419-438.

Marcia, J. E. (1981). Identity in adolescence. In J. Adelson (Ed.), Handbook of adolescent psychology (pp. 197-243). New York: John Wiley.

Marcia, J. E. (1987). The identity status approach to the study of ego identity development. In T. Honess & K. Yardley (Eds.), Self and identity: Perspective across the life span (pp. 161-171). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Marín, G., & Marín, B. (1991). Research with Hispanic populations. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Marshall, S. (1995). Ethnic socialization of African American children: Implications for parenting, identity development, and academic achievement. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 24, 377-396.

McAdoo, H. (1993). Family ethnicity: Strength in diversity. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

McCombs, H. G. (1985). Black self-concept: An individual/collective analysis. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 9, 1-18.

McRoy, R., & Freeman, E. (1986). Racial identity issues among mixed-race children. Social Work in Education, 8, 164-175.

Mendoza, R. H. (1984). Acculturation and social variability. In J.L. Martinez and R.H. Mendoza (Eds.), Chicano psychology (2nd ed). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Mendoza, R. H., & Martinez, J. L. (1981). The measurement of acculturation. In A. Baron, Jr. (Ed.), Explorations in Chicano psychology. New York: Praeger.

Merta, R., Stringham, E., & Ponterotto, J. (1988). Stimulating culture shock in counselor trainees: An experiential exercise for cross-cultural training. Journal of Counseling and Development, 66, 242-245.

Merton, R. K., & Kitt, A. (1950). Contributions to the theory of reference group behavior. In R. K. Merton & P. F. Lazarsfeld (Eds.), Studies in the scope and method of the American soldier. Glencose, Ill.: Free Press.

Minoura, Y. (1992). A sensitive period for the incorporation of a cultural meaning system: A study of Japanese children growing up in the United States. Ethos, 20, 304-339.

Mintz, N. L., & Schuartz, D. T. (1964). Urban ecology and psychosis: Community factors in the incidence of schizophrenia and manic-depression among Italians in greater Boston. International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 10(2), 101-117.

Morten, G., & Atkinson, D. R. (1983). Minority identity development and preference for counselor race. Journal of Negro Education, 52, 156-161.

Myers, L. J., Speight, S. L., Highlen, P. S., Cox, C. I., Reynolds, A. L., Adams, E. M., & Hanley, T. C. (1991). Identity development and world view: Toward an optimal conceptualization. Journal of Counseling and Development, 70, 54-63.

Nakashima, C. L. (1992). An invisible monster: The creation and denial of mixed-race people in America. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), Racially mixed people in America (pp. 162-180). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Nobles, W. W. (1973). Psychological research and the Black self-concept: A critical review. Journal of Social Issues, 29, 11-31.

Nobles, W. W. (1974). African root and American fruit: The Black family. Journal of Social and Behavioral Sciences, 20, 52-64.

Oberg, K. (1954). Culture shock. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merril Series in Social Sciences.

Oberg, K. (1960). Culture shock: Adjustments to new cultural environments. Practical Anthropology, 4, 177-182.

Okazaki, S., & Sue, S. (1995). Methodological issues in assessment research with ethnic minorities. Psychological Assessment, 7(3), 367-375.

Oliver, S. (1989). Music therapy services in Arizona: An alternative approach to service provision. Journal of Music Therapy, 26(2), 95-99.

Oliver, W. (1989). Sexual conquest and patterns of Black-on-Black violence: A structural-cultural perspective. Violence and Victims, 4(4), 257-273.

Parham, T. A. (1989). Cycles of psychological Nigrescence. The Counseling Psychologist, 17, 187-226.

Parham, T. A. (1993). Own-group preferences as a function of self-affirmation: A reaction to Penn et al. Special Section: Racial identity revisited. Journal of Black Psychology, 19, 336-341.

Parham, T. A., & Austin, N. L. (1994). Career development and African Americans: A contextual reappraisal using the nigrescence construct. Special Issue: Racial identity and vocational behavior. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 44, 139-154.

Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1981). The influence of Black students' racial identity attitudes on preference for counselor race. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 28, 250-256.

Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1985a). Attitudes of racial identity and self-esteem of Black students: An exploratory investigation. Journal of College Student Personnel, 26, 143-147.

Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1985b). The relationship of racial identity attitudes to self-actualization and affective states in black students. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 32, 431-440.

Parham, T. A., & Williams, P. T. (1993). The relationship of demographic and background factors to racial identity attitudes. Journal of Black Psychology, 19, 7-24.

Park, R. E. (1928). Human migration and the marginal man. The American Journal of Sociology, 33, 881-893.

Park, R. E. (1950). Race and culture. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Penn, M. L., Gaines, S. O., & Phillips, L. (1993). On the desirability of own-group preference. Journal of Black Psychology, 19, 303-321.

Phinney, J. S. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents. Journal of Early Adolescence, 9, 34-49.

Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. Journal of Adolescent Research, 7, 156-176.

Phinney, J. S. (1996). When we talk about American ethnic groups, what do we mean?. American Psychologist, 51, 918-927.

Phinney, J. S., & Alipuria, L. (1996). At the interface of culture: Multiethnic/multiracial high school and college students. Journal of Social Psychology, 136, 139-158.

Plummer, D. L. (1995). Patterns of racial identity development of African American adolescent males and females. Journal of Black Psychology, 21, 168-180.

Ponterotto, J. G. (1989). Expanding directions for racial identity research. The Counseling Psychologist, 17, 264-272.

Poortinga, Y., van de Vijver, F., Joe, R., & van de Koppel, J. (1989). Peeling the onion called culture: A synopsis. In C. Kagitcibasi (Ed.), Growth and progress in cross-cultural psychology (pp. 22-34). Berwyn, PA: Swets North American.

Porter, J., & Washington, R. (1993). Minority identity and self-esteem. Annual Review of Sociology, 19, 139-161.

Poston, W. C. (1990). The Biracial Identity Development Model: A needed addition. Journal of Counseling and Development, 69, 152-155.

Poussaint, A. (1984). Study of interracial children presents positive picture. Interracial Books for Children Bulletin, 15, 9-10.

Preston, J. (1985). Cultural shock and invisible walls. SUNY International Programs Quarterly, 1, 28-34.

Quintana, S. M. (1994). A model of ethnic perspective-taking ability applied to Mexican-American children and youth. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 18, 419-448.

Rabkin, J. G. (1979). Ethnic density and psychiatric hospitalization: Hazards of minority status. American Journal of Psychiatry, 136(12), 1562-1566.

Ramirez, M. (1984). Assessing and understanding biculturalism-multiculturalism in Mexican-American adults. In J. Martinez & R. Mendoza (Eds.), Chicano psychology (2nd ed., pp. 77-94). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. T. (1936). Memorandum for the study of acculturation. American Anthropologist, 38, 149-152.

Reid, P. (1994, August). Gender and class identities: African Americans in contest. Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Annual Convention, Los Angeles.

Reynolds, A. L., & Pope, R. L, (1991). The complexities of diversity: Exploring multiple oppressions. Journal of Counseling and Development, 70, 174-180.

Rhinesmith, S. (1985). Bringing home the world. New York: Walsh & Co.

Root, M. P. P. (1990). Resolving "other" status: Identity development of biracial individuals. In L. S. Brown & M. P. P. Root (Eds.), Diversity and complexity in feminist therapy (pp. 185-205). New York: Harrington Park Press.

Rosenberg, M. (1986). Self-concept from middle childhood through adolescence. In J. Suls & A. Greenwald (Eds.), Psychological perspectives on the self (Vol. 3, pp. 107-136). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Rosenthal, D. A., & Cichello, A. M. (1986). The meeting of two cultures: Ethnic identity and psychosocial adjustment of Italian-Australian adolescents. International Journal of Psychology, 21(4-5), 487-501.

Rotheram-Borus, M. J. (1989). Ethnic differences in adolescents' identity status and associated behavior problems. Journal of Adolescence, 12, 361-374.

Rotheram, M. J., & Phinney, J. S. (1987). Introduction: Definitions and perspectives in the study of children's ethnic socialization. In J. S. Phinney & M. J. Rotheram (Eds.), Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development (pp. 10-28). Newbury Park, California: Sage.

Rowe, W., Bennett, S. K., & Atkinson, D. R. (1994). White racial identity models: A critique and alternative proposal. Counseling Psychologist, 22, 129-146.

Ruben, B. D., & Kealey, D. J. (1979). Behavioral assessment of communication competency and the prediction of cross-cultural adaptation. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 3, 15-47.

Ruesch, J., & Bateson, G. (1951). Communication: The social matrix of psychiatry. New York: Norton.

Ruiz, A. S. (1990). Ethnic identity: Crisis and resolution. Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 18, 29-40.

Sabnani, H. B., Ponterotto, J. G., & Borodovsky, L. G. (1991). White racial identity development and cross-cultural training: A stage model. The Counseling Psychologist, 19, 76-102.

Sabogal, F., Marin, G., Otero-Sabogal, R., Marin, B., & Perez-Stable, E. (1987). Hispanic familism and acculturation: What changes and what doesn't? Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 9, 397-412.

Sebring, D. L. (1985). Considerations in counseling interracial children. The Personnel and Guidance Journal, 13, 3-9.

Salgado-De Synder, V. N., Lopez, C. M., & Padilla, A. M. (1982). Ethnic identity and cultural awareness among the offspring of Mexican interethnic marriages. Journal of Early Adolescence, 2(3), 277-282.

Segall, M. (1984). More than we need to know about culture, but are afraid not to ask. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 15, 153-162.

Semaj, L. T. (1981). The Black self, identity, and models for a psychology of Black liberation. Western Journal of Black Studies, 5, 158-171.

Semaj, L. T. (1985). Afrikanity, cognition, and extended self-identity. In M. B. Spencer, G. K. Brookins, & W. R. Allen (Eds.), Beginnings: The social and affective development of Black children (pp. 173-183). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Sherif, M. (1953). The concept of reference groups in human relations. In M. Sherif & M. O. Wilson (Eds.), Group relations at the crossroads (pp. 203-231). New York: Harper & Row.

Shibutani, T. (1955). Reference groups as perspectives. American Journal of Sociology, 60, 562-569.

Shibutani, T., & Kwan, K. M. (1965). Ethnic stratification. New York: Macmillan.

Shon, S. P., & Ja, D. Y. (1982). Asian families. In M. McGoldrick, J. K. Pearce, & J. Giordano (Eds.), Ethnicity and family therapy (pp. 208-229). New York: Guilford Press.

Simpson, G. E., & Yinger, J. M. (1985). Racial and cultural minorities: An analysis of prejudice and discrimination (5th ed.). New York: Plenum.

Smith, E. J. (1976). Reference group perspectives and the vocational maturity of lower socioeconomic Black youth. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 8, 321-336.

Smith, E. J. (1985). Ethnic minorities: Life stress, social support, and mental health issues. The Counseling Psychologist, 13, 537-579.

Smith, E. J. (1989). Black racial identity development: Issues and concerns. The Counseling Psychologist, 17, 277-288.

Smith, E. J. (1991). Ethnic identity development: Toward the development of a theory within the context of majority/minority status. Special Issue: Multiculturalism as a fourth force in counseling. Journal of Counseling and Development, 70, 181-188.

Smith, G. T., & McCarthy, D. M. (1995). Methodological considerations in the refinement of clinical assessment instruments. Psychological Assessment, 7(3), 300-308.

Sodowski, G. R., Seaberry, J., Gorgi, T. N., Lai, E. W. M., & Baliga, G. (1991, August). Theory of White racial identity: Qualitative and quantitative analyses of White psychology trainees' responses. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco.

Sommers, V. S. (1964). The impact of dual-cultural membership on identity. Psychiatry, 27, 332-344.

Spencer, M. B. (1987). Black children's ethnic identity formation: Risk and resilience of castelike minorities. In J. S. Phinney & M. J. Rotheram (Eds.), Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development (pp. 103-116). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Spencer, M. B. (1988). Self-concept development. New Directions for Child Development, 42, 59-72.

Spencer, M. B., & Markstrom-Adams, C. (1990). Identity processes among racial and ethnic minority children in America. Child Development, 61, 290-310.

Stack, C. (1974). All our kin: Strategies for survival in a Black community. New York: Harper & Row.

Stalikas, A., & Gavaki, E. (1995). The importance of ethnic identity: Self-esteem and academic achievement of second-generation Greeks in secondary school. Canadian Journal of School Psychology, 11, 1-9.

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1991). Intermarriage: Effects on personality, adjustment, and the intergroup relations in two samples of students. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 53, 241-250.

Stonequist, E. V. (1937). The marginal man: A study in personality and culture conflict. New York: Russell & Russell.

Stonequist, E. V. (1961). The problem of the marginal man. Journal of Sociology, 41, 1-12.

Streitmatter, J. L. (1988). Ethnicity as a mediating variable of early adolescent identity development. Journal of Adolescence, 11, 335-346.

Sue, D. W. (1989). Racial/cultural identity development among Asian-Americans: Counseling/therapy implications. _____, 13(1), 80-86.

Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (1990). Counseling the culturally different: Theory and practice. New York: Wiley.

Sullivan, J. W., & Horowitz, F. D. (1983). Infant intermodal perception and maternal multimodal stimulation: Implications for language development. Advances in Infancy Research, 2, 183-239.

Sullivan, M. J. L., Bishop, S. R., & Pivik, J. (1995). The Pain Catastrophizing Scale: Development and validation. Psychological Assessment, 7(4), 524-532.

Sullivan, T. (1983). Native children in treatment: Clinical, social and cultural issues. Journal of Child Care, 1(4), 75-94.

Taft, R. (1977). Coping with unfamiliar cultures. In N. Warren (Ed.), Studies in cross-cultural psychology (Vol. 1, pp. 125-153). London, England: Academic Press.

Tajfel, H. (1981). Human groups and social categories. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Teicher, J. D. (1968). Some observations of identity problems in children in Negro-White marriages. Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 146, 249-256.

Thomas, C. (Ed.). (1971). Boys no more. Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe Press.

Thomas, C., & Thomas, S. (1971). Something borrowed, something Black. In C. Thomas (Ed.), Boys no more. Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe Press.

Toffler, A. (1970). Future shock. New York: Random.

Tokar, D. M., & Swanson, J. L. (1991a). An investigation of the validity of Helms's (1984) model of White racial identity development. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 38, 296-301.

Tokar, D. M., & Swanson, J. L. (1991b, August). Psychometric properties of the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale. Paper presented at the meetings of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA.

Triandis, H. C., Davis, E. E., & Takezawa, S. I. (1965). Some determinants of social distance among American, German, and Japanese students. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 2(4), 540-551.

Triandis, H. C., Kashima, Y., Shimada, E., & Villareal, M. (1986). Acculturation indices as a means of confirming cultural differences. International Journal of Psychology, 21, 43-70.

Trimble, J. E. (1987). Self-perception and perceived alienation among American Indians. Journal of Community Psychology, 15(3), 316-333.

Trimble, J. E. (1988). Stereotypical images, American Indians, and prejudice. In P.A. Katz, D. A. Taylor (Eds.), Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy (pp. 181-202). New York: Plenum Press.

Trimble, J. E., & Richardson, S. S. (1982). Locus of control measures among American Indians: Cluster structure analytic characteristics. Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology, 13(2), 228-238.

Uba, L. (1994). Asian Americans: Personality patterns, identity, and mental health. New York: Guilford Press.

U.S. Bureau of the Census (1987). Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1988 (108th ed.). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Vasquez, M. J. (1994). Latinas. In L. Comas-Díaz & B. Greene (Eds.), Women of color: Integrating ethnic and gender identities in psychotherapy (pp. 114-138). New York: Guilford Press.

Vega, W., & Rumbaut, R. (1991). Ethnic minorities and mental health. Annual Review of Sociology, 17, 351-383.

Vivero, V. N. (1997a). Understanding and treating "culturally homeless" clients. Presented at the Association for Women in Psychology's 22nd National Feminist Psychology Conference, Pittsburgh, PA.

Vivero, V. N. (1997b). Cultural homelessness: Vulnerability to traumatic stress. Presented at the XIII annual meeting of the International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Vivero. V. N. (1999, January). At the Crossroads of Gender, Race, & Culture: The "OTHER" Minority. Presented at the American Psychological Association National Multicultural Conference and Summit, Newport Beach, CA.

Vivero, V. N. & Jenkins, S. R. (1998a, March). A new perspective for understanding race, ethnicity, and culture. Presented at the 23rd Conference of the Association for Women in Psychology, Baltimore, Maryland.

Vivero, V. N., & Jenkins, S. R. (1998b, August). The "culturally homeless" client: Treating the multicultural individual. Presented at the 106th annual convention of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, California.

Vivero, V. N., & Jenkins, S. R. (1998c, November). Multiminority Status & Cultural Homelessness as Trauma Vulnerability. Presented at the XIV annual meeting of the International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies, Washington, D.C.

Vivero, V. N., & Jenkins, S. R. (1998d). Understanding Multicultural & Multiminority Status Individuals. Unpublished manuscript, University of North Texas.

Vivero, V. N., & Jenkins, S. R. (1999a). The existential hazards of the multicultural individual: Defining and understanding "cultural homelessness". Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 5, 6-26.

Vivero. V. N., & Jenkins, S. R. (1999b, March). Cultural homelessness: Theory, research, & practice. Presented at the 24rd national conference of the Association for Women in Psychology, Providence, R. I.

Vivero. V. N., & Jenkins, S. R. (1999c, August). Cultural homelessness, multi-minority status, and ethnic identity development. Submitted for presentation at the 107th annual convention of the American Psychological Association, Boston, Massachussetts.

Vivero. V. N., & Jenkins, S. R. (1999d, August). Cultural homelessness: Implications for mental health. Submitted for presentation at the 107th annual convention of the American Psychological Association, Boston, Massachussetts.

Walton, S. (1990). Stress management training for overseas effectiveness. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 14, 507-527.

Wardle, F. (1987). Are you sensitive to interracial children's special identity needs? Young Children, 42, 53-59.

Waterman, A. S. (1985). Identity in the context of adolescent psychology. New Directions for Child Development, 30, 5-24.

Waters, M., & Eschbach, K. (1995). Immigration and ethnic and racial inequality in the United States. Annual Review of Sociology, 21, 419-446.

Whaley, A. L. (1992). A culturally sensitive approach to the prevention of interpersonal violence among urban Black youth. Journal of the National Medical Association, 84, 585-588.

Whaley, A. L. (1993). Self-esteem, cultural identity, and psychosocial adjustment in African American children. Journal of Black Psychology, 19(4), 406-422.

Whaley, A. L. (1997). Ethnicity/race, paranoia, and psychiatric diagnoses: Clinician bias versus sociocultural differences. Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment, 19(1), 1-20.

Whaley, A. L. (1997). Ethnic and racial differences in perceptions of dangerousness of persons with mental illness. Psychiatric Services, 48(10), 1328-1330.

Whaley, A. L. (1998). Racism in the provision of mental health services: A social-cognitive analysis. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 68(1), 47-57.

White, C. L., & Burke, P. J. (1987). Ethnic role identity among Black and White college students. Sociological Perspectives, 30, 310-331.

White, C. L., & Parham, T. (1990). Psychology of Blacks: An African American perspective. Englewood Cliffs. NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Whiting, B. (1976). The problem of the packaged variable. In K. Riegel & J. Meacham (Eds.), The developing individual in a changing world (pp. 303-309). Chicago: Aldine.

Wilkinson, D. Y., & King, G. (1989). Conceptual and methodological issues in the use of race as a variable: Policy implications. In D. P. Willis (Ed.), Health policies and Black Americans (pp. 56-71). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Williamson, A. M., & Holman, J. (1980). Sex roles: Personal choice or societal expectations. Australian Psychologist, 15(3), 499-501.

Wilson, A. (1984). "Mixed race" children in British society: Some theoretical considerations. British Journal of Sociology, 35, 42-61.

Winkelman, M. (1994). Cultural shock and adaptation. Journal of Counseling and Development, 73, 121-126.

Wright, B. H. (1985). The effects of racial self-esteem on the personal self-esteem of Black youth. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 9, 19-30.

Yee, A. H. (1983). Ethnicity and race: Psychological perspectives. Educational Psychologist, 18, 14-24.

Yee, A. H. (1992). Asians as stereotypes and students: Misperceptions that persist. Educational Psychology Review, 4, 95-132.

Yee, A., Fairchild, H., Weizmann, F., & Wyatt, G. (1993). Addressing psychology's problems with race. American Psychologist, 48, 1132-1140.

Zuckerman, M. (1990). Some dubious premises in research and theory on racial differences. American Psychologist, 45, 1297-1303.